VOLUME XXXV No. 2

The Catholic Historical Review

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JULY, 1949

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FRANCISCO DE VITORIA AND THE NATURE OF COLONIAL POLICY

By

Justus M. van der Kroef*

The sixteenth-century Dominican friar, Francisco de Vitoria,[1] has in recent years been the subject of a variety of investigations[2]

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[1] Variously spelled de la Vitoria or Victoria. Cf. H. Beuve-Méry, *La théorie des pouvoirs publics d' après François de Vitoria et ses rapports avec le droit contemporain* (Paris, 1928), p. 7.

[2] In 1926 Spain gave the impetus to a rediscovery of Vitoria's works through the establishment of the Asociación Francisco de Vitoria and a Biblioteca Internacionalista Fr. de Vitoria, which have co-ordinated and directed scholarship in this field. Recent outstanding contributions to Vitoria's life and works include in France—in addition to the interpretation of Beuve-Méry - Q. Albertini, *L'oeuvre de Francisco de Vitoria et la doctrine canonique du droit de la guerre* (Paris, 1903), an older but still valuable account, especially good on Vitoria's influence on Grotius, and J. Baumel, *Le droit international public, la découverte de l'Amérique et les théories de Francisco de Vitoria. Étude du "de Indis noviter inventis"* (Montpellier, 1931), which ably indicates the Thomist background of Vitoria's beliefs. In Germany a brief study has appeared by F. A. von der Heydte, "Franciscus de Vitoria und sein Völkerrecht," *Zeitschrift für offentliches Recht,* XII (1933), 239-268, which is little more than a summary of Vitoria's *De jure belli.* Netherlands' contributions include the excellent article by J. Kosters, "Het jus gentium van Hugo de Groot en diens voorgangers," *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde,* LVIII, (1924), 113 ff, which indicates the historical continuity of St. Thomas' concept of *jus gentium* through Vitoria, Suárez, and Grotius, and the article by F. Tummers, S.J., "Het Vraagstuk der koloniaale Verhouding," *Studien,* LXII (1930), 34 ff, a philosophical study of colonial relations. In the United States, outstanding work has been done by Professor James B. Scott, who in his *The Spanish Origin of International Law. Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations* (Oxford, 1934), Pt. 1, offers some excellent translations of Vitoria's major works. The same author's *Le progrès du droit des gens,* (Paris, 1934) is a valuable outline and introduction. Herbert Wright, "The 'De potestate civili' of Vitoria," in *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* (1931), pp. 85-95, is a brief summary which offers no additional information, however. More significant is the publication of the Catholic University of America, *Francisco de Vitoria; Addresses in Commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of his Lectures "De Indis" and "De Jure Belli"* (Washington,

which have established him as one of the founders of the modern law of nations, ranking in eminence with Grotius and Suárez, who, systematizing and co-ordinating Vitoria's principles, established what one student has called "the Spanish school of International Law." [3] The treatises of the obscure professor of theology at the University of Salamanca, which mercilessly attacked the policy and administration of the Spaniards in newly-discovered America, were at one time as important as the denunciations of Bartolomé las Casas, the humanitarian defender of the Indians.[4] In the course of time, however, Vitoria has chiefly become important for his contributions to the philosophy of law, while but little attention has been paid [5] to his concept of

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1932) which has some excellent interpretations. Of the countless Spanish contributions, only the following are noted: L. G. A. Getino, *El maestro fr. Francisco de Vitoria, su vida, su doctrina y su influencia* (Madrid, 1930)—one of the most complete biographies in existence, making use of invaluable material from the archives of the University of Salamanca—the same author's *Relecciones teológicas del maestro fray Francisco de Vitoria*, Biblioteca de Tomistas Españoles, IX (Madrid, Valencia, 1933)—a critically annotated edition of de Vitoria's major works—; R. P. Vincente Beltrán de Heredia, ed., *Comentarios a la secunda secundae de Santo Tomas*, Biblioteca de Teológos Españoles, I-IV (Salamanca, 1932-1934), which offers valuable sidelights into Vitoria's Thomistic antecedents; the same author's "Ideas del maestro fray Francisco de Vitoria anteriores a las relecciones 'De Indis' acerca de la colonización de America," *La Ciencia Tomista* (Salamanca) is significant for a study of the state of intellectual opinion in Vitoria's environment; and C. Barcia Trelles, *Fr. de Vitoria fundador del derecho internacional moderno* (Universidad de Valladolid, sección de estudios americanistas, 1928)—a short but scholarly biography valuable for an insight into the reactions of the Spanish court to Vitoria's views. The only British study of note—other than those that have appeared in general works on the period—is J. Bate, *Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations* (Oxford, 1934), which offers a concise summary of Vitoria's major writings.

[3] James B. Scott, *The Spanish Conception of International Law and of Sanctions*, (Washington, 1934), p. 51.

[4] For a comparison of the respective influence of las Casas and Vitoria, cf. C. van Vollenhoven, *Du droit de paix* (The Hague, 1932), pp. 59-63 and E. Nys, *Le droit des gens et les anciens jurisconsultes espagnols* (Brussels, 1914), pp. 78-82. The influence of Erasmus and other humanists of the period (notably Dullaert, Vives, and Cleynaerts) on las Casas and Vitoria is ably indicated by A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d' Italie (1494-1517)*, (Paris, 1916), pp. 408, 409, and 467.

[5] A notable exception is the excellent study by the Dutch scholar, A. H. Böhm, *Het Recht van Kolonisatie, Francisco de Vitoria's lessen over het recht tot*

colonial policy and the right to overseas expansion, which constitute the backbone of his legal precepts.[6] It is the purpose of this study to examine briefly Vitoria's concept of his country's colonial policy and the influence of that concept upon later generations of colonial administrators.

Colonization and the Indian. When on the night of October 11, 1492, Columbus reached the island of Guanahani (San Salvador) and the new world, the expected material wealth which was to flow from the voyage and discovery found in the minds of his contemporaries ample justification in the moral and ethical task of Christianization and the spreading of western civilization among the Indians of the newly-discovered land.[7] Seemingly the philosophy in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella was that as Christians and civilized human beings, the Spaniards had the right to take over the lands of non-Christians and force the latter to perform the necessary labor inherent in the spread of civilization. In return the Spaniards were required to instruct the Indian in the true faith and in the principles of Christian morality, as the papal bulls of 1493 specifically indicated. According to Pope Alexander VI who issued them, the Spaniards were only to have as much temporal power as propagation of the true faith demanded.[8] Although Isabella herself in this early period

koloniseeren in verband met de Spaansche Kolonisatie, het Optreden der Pausen en het Internationale Recht, (Utrecht, 1936) pp. 152-182, who has tried to assess the value of Vitoria for the development of colonial policy, but has fallen short in his effort to determine the consequences of Vitoria's concepts on the colonial reformers of the latter half of the eighteenth century for example.

[6] That events in the colonies and the administration of the Spaniards were the main reason why Vitoria began to make his views public is indicated by a letter which he wrote in 1534 (reprinted in L. Getino, *El maestro Fr. Francisco de Vitoria,* pp. 144-146, translated by J. B. Scott, *The Spanish Origin, Francisco de Vitoria,* pp. 79-82) in which he declares that the conditions in America have long been known to him, but that matters now have come to such a pass, that he feels compelled to protest against them. This resulted in the lectures on *De Indis recenter inventis* and *De Indis sive de jure belli Hispanorum in barbaros,* in the six years following.

[7] Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 19, and J. Harmand, *Domination et colonisation* (Paris, 1919), pp. 13, 94 and 95.

[8] For the Latin text and an English translation of these bulls, cf. F. G. Davenport, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies* (Washington, 1917), pp. 58 ff. Regardless of the legal problems raised in connection with these and other bulls issued by Popes concerning colonization (such as the bull *Romanus Pontifex* of Pope Nicholas V in 1455

apparently had some misgivings concerning the Spaniards' right to extend their power over the person of the Indian,[9] practice in this case, as in so many others, preceded what came to be regarded as right. The Indian was but an insignificant cog in the machinery constructed for the purpose of colonial exploitation.[10]

But even before the sixteenth century was a year old, views on the matter began to differ. Columbus himself in his diary had portrayed the Indians as gentle, friendly folk, pleasing in their manner and bearing,[11] and not given to "idolatrous customs." [12]

As more Spaniards went to the new world, Columbus' views began to find defenders as well as attackers. Vast "masses of contradictory evidence given by colonial officials and missionaries" left the Spanish government in confusion. Against those who claimed that the Indian was a savage, whose services and property could be commandeered at

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with reference to Portuguese colonization of Africa), there can be no doubt that they regarded Christianization of a heathen population as the chief task of colonial expansion. Cf. in this connection H. Schäfer, *Geschichte von Portugal* (Hamburg, 1836-39), II, 261, 238 and C. R. Beasly, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (New York, 1914), pp. 181 ff.

[9] Cf. Isabella's instructions of 1503 and her testament in P.P.F.X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue* (Paris, 1730-31), I, 230, and J. A. Llorente, *Oeuvres de Don Barthélémi de Las Casas* (Paris, 1822), I, 396.

[10] Lewis Hanke, *The First Social Experiments in America,* chap. 1 passim. Cf. for Spanish views on the subject Francisco de las Barras de Aragón, ed., *Viajes por la América Meridional* (Madrid, 1923), II, 86. Even such missionaries as Pedro de Gante, who at one time seems to have praised the achievements of the Indian, declared as late as 1558 in a letter to Philip II that they were "unreasonable animals." (*Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cartas de Indias,* Caja 1, Num. 65.) Barbarism and idol-worship were still the chief reasons which seemed to justify the enslavement of the Indians. Cf. the arguments presented by Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana* (Madrid, 1647), Lib. I, Cap. II, no. 19.

[11] Cf. Francisco Maldonado de Guevara, *El primer contacto de blancos y gentes de color en América* (Valladolid, 1924), pp. 14 ff., and Sir Arthur Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America and its Relations to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies,* (London, 1855-61), I, 119. Other impressions of Columbus, with no certainty as to their historical accuracy, are recorded in Ferdinand Columbus, *Historia de la vida y hechos del almirante Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, 1749), p. 61. These favorable impressions did not prevent Columbus from forcing seven Indians to accompany him on his first voyage home who later tried to escape on the island Santa Maria but with no success.

[12] Ferdinand Columbus, *Historia,* p. 61.

will by the Spaniards,[13] the fiery Dominican missionary, las Casas, delivered a heavy blow with the publication of his massive work, *Apologetica historia de las Indias,* which denied the Spaniards' right to treat the Indian as a beast of burden and endeavored to prove that he was a rational being whose culture compared favorably with that of the peoples of antiquity, and who was certainly capable of a high moral life. Similarly the declaration of Pope Paul III in 1537, that the Indians were rational beings, capable of becoming Christians and should neither be enslaved nor be deprived of their property, was a momentous step forward.[14] Meanwhile other Dominicans followed in las Casas' footsteps.[15] But such notable scholars as Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Darién, Ginés de Sepúlveda, and González Hernando de Oviedo were differently disposed, regarding the Indians, in Oviedo's words, as "naturally lazy and vicious, cowardly and as a whole a lying, irresolute people." [16] During the first decade of the sixteenth century, the views of las Casas' opponents were largely in the ascendancy. Unfortunately for the later development of Spanish colonial policy, it was in this period that the economic system and the government of the Spanish possessions in America were largely determined, so that

[13] Cf. Gonzalo Hernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y de las Indias, islas y Tierra-Firme del mar Océano* (Amador de los Ríos, ed., Madrid, 1851-1855), Part I, Lib. II, Cap. VI, Lib. IV, Cap. II and Lib. V., Caps. II-III and Hanke, *op. cit.,* pp. 19-20.

[14] Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética historia de las Indias* (Serrano y Sanz, ed. Madrid, 1909), pp. 11-45; 78, 97 ff. For additional background on las Casas' political outlook and his Thomist tradition, cf. the excellent study by Lewis Hanke, *Las ideas politicas de Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Buenos Aires, 1934), chaps. I-II, passim. For Paul III's pronouncements cf. C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire In America* (Oxford, 1947), p. 55, and Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review,* XXX, 65-162.

[15] For example, the Dominican archaeologist Juan Ferrer, [Cf. the discussion of Victor F. O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Early Florida* (New York, 1930), p. 100] and the missionary Domingo de Santo Tomás, who in his *Grammatica, o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru* (Valladolid, 1560) sought to convince Philip II, on the basis of his linguistic studies, that the beauties of the Indian tongues could not possibly have been produced by an irrational and barbaric people.

[16] Oviedo, *Historia general,* Part. I, Lib. II, Cap. VI.

later reformers would have to battle against established—and profitable—ways of colonization.[17]

In 1497 Columbus had received letters patent from Isabella which gave him the right to grant land to Spaniards in the colonies.[18] Nothing had been said, however, concerning the right to use Indian labor, forced or voluntary, although Columbus in 1498 seems to have proposed to the joint Spanish sovereigns that the colonists be allowed to employ the Indians for a period of approximately two years to aid them in the establishment of a settlement.[19] Before a definite answer had been received, some recalcitrant elements in the explorer's crew forced the issue to an immediate and—for the Indian—unfortunate decision. Before returning home from his third voyage (1499), Columbus had given Roldán, the leader of the insurrectionists on Española, not only the right to parcel out land among the Spaniards remaining behind, but also that of recruiting the services of a *cacique* (chief) with his people to perform the necessary labor on the land.[20] This arrangement, known as the *repartimiento* system, did not so much rest upon the exclusive right to commandeer the services of the Indians living under Spanish rule—that originated before 1499—but upon the right of private Spanish citizens to do so.[21] The disgrace into which Columbus fell upon his return to Spain gave Roldán a free hand and the system became an intolerable burden of exploitation and abuse. Thousands of Indians perished in the gold mines.

When the court heard of these conditions, a special emissary, Ovando, was sent to Española with new instructions. Indian labor was to be put on a voluntary basis and stringent curtailment of the gold

[17] Cf. Lesley B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain,* (Berkeley 1929), Chap. 1, passim, and John H. Parry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, England, 1940), pp. 6 ff.

[18] Helps, *op. cit.,* I, 151, and Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 25. For Columbus' other rights cf. F. G. Davenport, "Texts of Columbus's privileges," *American Historical Review,* XIV (1908), 764-766.

[19] Charlevoix, *op. cit.,* I, 185; B. Moses, *Spain Overseas* (New York, 1929), p. 39, and F. W. Blackmar, *Spanish Colonization in the Southwest* (Baltimore, 1890), p. 30.

[20] Charlevoix, *op. cit.,* I, 185; Helps, *op. cit.,* I, 163-164, 173; Simpson, *op. cit.,* chap. 1, passim.

[21] Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

exploitation was to be enforced.[22] Ovando, meeting with the determined opposition of his countrymen in the new world, was thus primarily responsible for the introduction of a new system, the *encomienda*.[23] This new arrangement provided for a division of Indian laborers, fifty to 200, to each Spanish colonist. He was to give them adequate pay and "instruct them in the basic tenets of the Catholic religion ."[24] The Spanish king thus obtained the right to grant to the colonists (*encomenderos*) the privilege of receiving tribute from the Indian in the form of paid labor, with the provision that the welfare of his laborers and the defense of his lands were to be the *encomendero's* prime concern. After 1536 the Indians came to be apportioned among the *encomenderos* for the duration of their own and their heirs' lives, so that the Spaniards could control the labor supply for a period of almost two generations.[25] Indians were also required to live in definite settlements near the estates and were placed under their own *cacique*, who—as the instruction of Isabella issued to Ovando in 1503 prescribed—was to see to it that they hired themselves out for a fair wage and were well taken care of by their employers.[26] With minor variations this system continued to function for centuries. Due to inadequate supervision it soon became a horror to the Indian, if the testimonies of such early missionaries as de Montesino are to be believed.

In 1512, upon the instigation of Ferdinand of Aragon, the first concrete body of law regulating colonial policy came into being: the Laws of Burgos.[27] This code declared the Indians to be free peoples in principle, but in the interests of the Indians themselves, it was considered necessary that they remain living under the *encomienda* system

[22] Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

[23] A. de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y tierra firme del mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1601-15), dec. I, lib. V, cap. II and Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

[24] Herrera, *op. cit.*, dec. I, lib. V, cap. II, and Solorzano Pereira, *op. cit.*, lib. III, cap. III.

[25] A. de León, *Tratado de confirmaciones reales*, part. I, cap. I, p. 5, quoted by Helps, *op. cit.*, III, 228.

[26] Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, I, 230.

[27] L. B. Simpson, *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain* (Berkeley, 1934), pp. 4-26.

because their spiritual well-being could thus be properly fostered.[28] Since the supervision over the Laws of Burgos was largely left to the *encomenderos* themselves, the condition of the Indians deteriorated.[29] In 1514, under d'Albuquerque, a redistribution of the Indians took place. Their fate became so harrowing that las Casas, who had lived in San Domingo and in Cuba prior to this time, decided to go to Spain to protest against the outrages committed by his countrymen.[30] In Spain, las Casas turned to Cardinal Ximinés for aid (in the absence of Charles V). Together with Palacios Rubios, renowned humanitarian and legal authority,[31] he prepared a lengthy report on the Indian situation, including a series of instructions which Ximinés handed to three reluctant Jeronymite friars who were commissioned to go to Española and take stock of colonial conditions.[32]

After a careful investigation and lengthy interrogations, the friars concluded that the *encomienda* system should be maintained on the grounds that it provided the only basis for the proper education and development of the Indian.[33] Las Casas, who had meanwhile also come to Española, was deeply grieved over the findings of the fathers and once again returned to Spain to plead the Indians' cause.[34]

[28] L. B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain,* pp. 50-55, and K. Erb, *Behandlung der Indier in Theorie und Praxis,* pp. 36-41, give good summaries of the laws. The *encomendero* was required to build a chapel for the Indians on his estate, to give the Indian a sufficient bonus—in addition to his wages—with which to buy new clothes each year, and was also required to provide him with the basic elements of education.

[29] Moses, *op. cit.,* pp. 40-41.

[30] Folliet, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

[31] For the collaboration of las Casas with Rubios cf. E. Nys, *Le droit des gens et les anciens jurisconsultes espagnols,* pp. 40, 41 and 72. For Rubios' views, which were of influence on those of Vitoria, cf. Silvio Zavala, *New Viewpoints on the Spanish Colonization of America* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 7-10.

[32] Ximinés' instructions may be consulted in Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain,* App. 1.

[33] Cf. Hanke, *op. cit.,* pp. 26-40. Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias,* lib. III, caps. 85-94, gives an interesting, if not wholly accurate, version of the work of the friars.

[34] After las Casas' departure the fathers reversed their stand and declared the *encomienda* system illegal and of disastrous consequence to the Indian. Cf. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain,* pp. 66-76.

Charles V's Flemish advisers,[35]—Ximinés had died in 1517—gave las Casas encouragement. In 1518 Rodrigo de Figueroa was sent to Española with orders that reflected las Casas' deepest wishes:[36] the three friars were recalled. The Indians were henceforth to live as free subjects of the Spanish monarch in their own settlements and were required to pay a yearly tribute—the amount to be determined by las Casas. However, when Figueroa gathered the Indians in a number of villages, the latter, completely "demoralized perhaps by their cruel past,"[37] displayed so little energy and ability to manage their own affairs that de Figueroa himself admitted that continued "tutelage" of the Indian by the Spaniards seemed necessary.[38] A barrage of criticism reached Charles V's ears to the effect that Figueroa's reforms meant the economic collapse of the colony, since Indians could only after great difficulty be induced to continue to mine the gold.[39] Ultimately, Charles V, weary of las Casas' insistent demands for reform[40] and the controversy in colonial policy, wrote to the superiors of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in Española that he had washed his hands of the situation and would allow them to decide whether or not the Indians would continue to pay tribute and render services to the Spaniards.[41]

[35] Notably Sauvage, de la Chaux, Gattinara, and de Bure supported las Casas. For their work, cf. A. Gossart, *Charles-Quint et Philippe II* (Brussels, 1896), pp. 10 ff. and H. Baumgarten, *Geschichte Karls V* (Stuttgart, 1885-1892), I, 103 ff.

[36] M. Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la dominación española en America* (Madrid, 1918), pp. dlxxxvii-dciii. For a summary cf. Erb, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[37] Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[38] de Herrera, *op. cit.*, dec. II, lib. X, cap. 5; dec. III, lib. I, cap. 14. Cf. also W. Roberston, *The History of America* (London, 1808), I, 331.

[39] Hanke, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Figueroa, furthermore, seems to have promoted his own and his relatives' interest, which increased the antagonism against his regime.

[40] Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, I, 426.

[41] Ferdinand of Aragon and Charles V seemed to vacillate between their acceptance of responsibility in colonial affairs and shirking it. Both monarchs at various times took oaths absolving all colonial officials for their official action and taking full responsibility for colonial policy, only to call a council later on, charged with finding a solution to colonial problems "in order that His Majesty's conscience might be eased." Cf. Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 305, de León, *op. cit.*, parte 1, cap. I and A. Helps, *op. cit.*, III, 142, 190-193.

Meanwhile, the conquest of Mexico, Central America, and Peru added to the confusion in colonial policy. When Pedrarias de Avila became Governor of Tierra Firme, he was given an instruction (1514) which, next to the generally applicable provision that the Indians were entitled to decent treatment, also gave Avila the authority to place them either in a position of personal servitude to the Spaniards or to leave them under their own chiefs who would arrange the supply of labor.[42] In either case, the concept of the payment of tribute was to be established. With the conquest of Mexico Charles thought new regulations necessary. In 1523 and again in 1526, various *juntas* of theologians and jurists advised Charles that the *encomienda* system could not be imposed upon the Indians since "God has created them free," [43] a view which Cortes seemed to have shared.[44] But practice and policy were two different things. *Encomiendas* were gradually created (or what amounted to them in practice); and with the appointment of Mendoza as Viceroy of New Spain in 1535, Charles V gave his approval to the creation of the *encomienda* system in Peru, with the "result that they also continued to exist in Mexico." [45] The constant need for money probably forced Charles V to agree to the prevailing practices, since only continued (forced) labor in the mines could provide the emperor with gold. Although Charles appointed official protectors of the Indians, who especially in Mexico prevented the worst abuses, the fate of the Indian on the continent soon became as harrowing as that on Española.[46] Too, opinion in Spain remained divided. The Council of the Indies, for example, although in principle convinced of the undesirability of the conditions prevailing in the colonies, lacked the unity to see its decisions enforced.[47]

[42] Helps, *op. cit.*, I, 376 and Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.

[43] J. B. Muñoz, *Historia del nuevo mundo* (Madrid, 1835), pp. 187 ff and de León, *op. cit.*, parte 1, cap. 1.

[44] Wrote Cortés to Charles V: "I have not deemed it expedient and safe to make slaves of the Indians and to force them to serve the Spaniards, like has been done on the islands." Cf. F. Cortés, *Letters* (Folson, ed. New York, 1843), I, 175.

[45] Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[46] Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones cédulas, instrucciones para el goberniade en Nueva España* (Madrid, 1945), fol. 67 in Helps, *op. cit.*, 111, 177.

[47] Herrera, *op. cit.*, dec. III, lib. 5, cap. 1 and W. H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1864), III, chap. VII.

By the time de Vitoria began his lectures on the right of colonization—Spanish colonial policy in particular, few subjects were so hotly debated as Spanish colonial rule and the rights of the Indian. The general opinion was that regardless of the lofty principles advocated by humanitarians and Dominican missionaries in Spain, practical necessity in the colonies would force Spanish rule to be cruel and exacting and make the Indians, wherever they came in contact with the government of Castile, little more than beasts of burden, "talléable et corvéable à merci." [48]

The search for legal justification. Against the background of conflicting colonial policies sketched above, Spain's theologians and jurists sought to formulate a concise program that would clarify and justify their country's actions in the new world. The flood of treatises they produced sounded this dominant note: "a concern with the relationship between a Christian (European) world and a world described as infidel or heathen." [49] The close interest of theologians in colonial problems stemmed from "the cosmopolitan character of the theology of their age," [50] which because of its moral-philosophical aspects believed it could speak with authority on all legal problems. Property rights of the Indians, for example, constituted for a man like Vitoria with his Thomist background a vital theological problem,[51] the solution of which would determine all relevant legal decisions.

As early as the thirteenth century, Ostiensis, the authority on canon law, voiced the theory that heathens on the basis of *jus gentium* had been entitled to their own property before Christ, but that when

[48] Although Spanish colonial policy did by no means differ from that of other European powers in those or later days, the underlying religious element—though often scarcely visible in practice—put Spanish colonization in theory at least on a higher moral plane than the early policy of England and France. Cf. Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Parry, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff; G. Hardy, *Histoire de la colonisation française* (Paris, 1928), p. 53; Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, pp. 1 ff., and P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De La colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (Paris, 1882), p. 117.

[49] Zavala, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[50] Cf. E. de Hinojosa, *Influencia que tuvieron en el derecho público de su patria y singularmente en el derecho penal los filósofos y teólogos espanoles anteriores a nuestro siglo* (Madrid, 1890), pp. 85 ff.

[51] F. de Vitoria, *De Indis recenter inventis*, I, 5. (In Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law, Fr. de Vitoria*, App. A). Vitoria's views were, of course, based upon St. Thomas, *Summa*, II, II, qu. 10, 12.

Christ had come into the world all powers and rights held by heathens passed automatically to Christ, Who in turn had delegated these powers to His vicar on earth, the Pope.[52] Thus, the Pope had authority to settle *property-matters* of the heathens. Theologians like Vitoria felt fully justified to let their light shine on the issue. Such scholars as Palacios Rubios, whose earnest humanitarianism made him a defender of the Indian long before the Spanish court had heard of las Casas,[53] and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, with whom las Casas engaged in a sharply worded debate in Valladolid in 1550 on the subject of colonial policy, were all convinced of the validity of Ostiensis' theory.[54] Exploitation and the wars in the new world, according to Sepúlveda, whose theories were so brilliantly exploded by Vitoria, were justified on the grounds that: (1) the Indians deserved war because of the magnitude of their sins committed as heathens; (2) as an uncivilized race, the Indians by nature were serviceable to a more civilized people as the Spaniards; (3) only through war could the Indians be Christianized; and (4) an end must be made to the Indian outrages, such as cannibalism, which "make the rest of mankind suffer."[55] Las Casas, aided by Vitoria's students, Soto and Cano, had attacked these doctrines with little success.

More than eleven years before this famous debate, which clarified the two conflicting thoughts on policy and right of colonization, Vitoria, from the relative obscurity of his professor's chair in Salamanca, had delivered a series of lectures which reviewed the prevailing opinions on the subject, denied their validity, and placed the right to colonization upon the fundaments of the later law of nations. Their reverence for natural law and the concept that the Indian had property rights, their appeal to the sanctity of equality under law, their vigorous denial of the right of both Pope and emperor to justify the colonization methods in vogue in the new world, are, curiously, akin to the concepts of John Major (1470-1550), the Scottish humanist

[52] For Ostiensis cf. S. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* (Berlin, 1894), II, 236-238.

[53] Nys, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[54] *Disputa entre el Obispo Bartolomé de Las Casas y Dotor Gines de Sepúlveda, Seville, 1552 en Sepulvedae opera* (Madrid, 1780), in Llorente, *op. cit.*, I, 336 ff.

[55] Helps, *op. cit.*, IV, 318 ff and Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

and adviser of Knox, the reformer.[56] In these lectures Vitoria departed from the same text with which Pope Paul III had begun his bull *Unigenitus*:[57] "Teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."[58] Vitoria's discussion is then divided into three major parts: "In the first part I will treat of the right of the Spaniards to bring the heathen foreigners under their control, in the second part I will examine the authority of the Spanish monarchs over the Indians in temporal and spiritual affairs, the third part is devoted to an investigation of whether the monarch or the Church has authority over them in spiritual matters."[59]

Before discussing the first question, Vitoria thought it necessary to defend the choice of his topic against possible objections that his work would be useless and unnecessary, because Ferdinand and Isabella and "the God-fearing Emperor Charles V" had already sufficiently investigated the problem of the respective rights and duties of the Spaniards in the new world.[60] Following Aristotle,[61]

[56] For John Major's influence on Spanish thought cf. Silvio Zavala, *Servidumbre natural y libertad cristiana según los tratadistas españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Buenos Aires, 1944), pp. 4-32; 58-72; for a good summary of his views consult C. M. Macdonald, "John Major and Humanism," *Scottish Historical Review*, XIII (1915), 149-159; the best critical study is in T. G. Law, *Collected Essays* (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 32 ff. A dispute exists as to the date of Vitoria's lectures. E. Nys, ed., *De Indis et de iure belli relectiones* (Washington, 1917), introduction, p. 5, and Folliet, *op. cit.*, p. 51, believe they were given in 1532, while H. Bouve-Méry, *op. cit.*, p. 15, adheres to 1539. Vitoria himself speaks in his *De Indis*, lib. V, cap. 6, of "the discovery of America having occurred forty years ago," which would make 1532 the more probable date of the lectures had it not been for the fact that the registers of the University of Salamanca list them for December, 1538, through January, 1539. Cf. Böhm, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

[57] Cf. L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg 1886-1909), V, 720, for the political background of the bull and Pope Paul III's motivations.

[58] The bull declared the Indians to be free although they were still heathens, but it is none too clear on the subject of their property rights. Cf. Davenport, *European Treaties*, pp. 58 ff.

[59] *De Indis*, lib. I, cap. 1 (in Scott, App. A) second and third parts were never completed by Vitoria, however. Cf. also B. de Solages, "Devoirs, droits, et responsabilités des puissances colonisantes," *Semaines Sociales de France, Le problème social aux colonies, Compte rendu in extenso des cours et conférences, XXII session, 1930, Marseilles*, pp. 35 ff.

[60] *De Indis*, lib. I, cap. 1 and 2., (in Scott, App. A).

[61] *Ethics*, III, 1112.

Vitoria claimed, however, that it is indeed useless to investigate the futile or the unnecessary, but that his study is justified on the grounds that there is no certainty or unanimity on the subject which he is examining.[62] He develops the following three theses:[63] (1) In case of doubt concerning an issue, everyone must consult those who can speak with authority on the subject; (2) when men of wisdom have decided the issue, everyone must abide by their opinion; and (3) everyone who abides by the decision is relieved of any responsibility flowing from the practical realization connected with it. The position of the Indians was such an issue. As the matter involves the Spaniards' peace of mind in the new world, their conscience, the Indian issue should, therefore, be brought before the "court of human conscience," i.e., the Church.[64]

The first issue which Vitoria examines (part, then, of his general discussion of the rights of the Spaniards to bring the Indians under their control) concerns the property rights of the Indian. Vitoria immediately proceeds to the heart of the matter, since the question was one of "whether those barbarians in the New World were slaves," who, on the basis of Justinian's precepts, could own no property. On the contrary, writes Vitoria, the Indians were at the time of the Spanish conquest "in the peaceful possession of their goods, both in terms of private and of public law,"[65] and hence were at that time not slaves. Also, it is fallacious to argue that the Indians are not entitled to ownership of their property because they are sinners and infidels or because they appear to be insane. Vitoria writes: "mortal sin does not prevent a person from exercising his property right under civil law."[66] Quoting from St. Thomas,[67] de Vitoria then says that unbelief or ignorance of the true faith does not interfere with natural or with human law, so that no Christian "may take away the property of a Saracen, a Jew, or another unbeliever solely on the grounds that they do not believe."[68] On this basis the Spaniards

[62] *De Indis,* lib. I, cap. 1.
[63] *Ibid.,* cap. 1, 2 and 3.
[64] *Ibid.,* cap. 3.
[65] *Ibid.,* cap. 4.
[66] *Ibid.,* cap. 6.
[67] *Summa,* II, II, quo. 10, 12.
[68] *De Indis,* lib. I, cap. 7.

were not entitled to deprive the Indians of their property. The Indians, furthermore, cannot have their property taken from them on the grounds that they are insane. Insanity, Vitoria admits, again referring to St. Thomas,[69] does, indeed, prevent full exercise of property rights; but the Indians by virtue of their legal and political institutions (the state, marriage, contract, trade regulations, etc.,) clearly exhibit their ability to manage their own affairs, which in turn proves them to be sane. But, Vitoria indicates, man's greatest possession is his power to reason. The Indians have not employed this power extensively. If they had, they would have used their reasoning capacities to come to an understanding of the true faith as most Europeans have. The Indians' position can, according to Vitoria, best be compared to that of the ignorant and untutored peasants in Europe, who, likewise, have not had the opportunity to develop their capacities fully. But no one should deny the Indian full ownership of his rights.[70]

Such was Vitoria's contribution to at least one fundamental problem of Spanish colonial policy. It is not surprising that he was attacked for it by the defenders of the *status quo*. These men could see the profitable streams of gold and silver from the new world drying up if Vitoria's ideas became widespread. Even Emperor Charles V criticized the friar. In November, 1539, he sent a letter to de Soto, Vitoria's most brilliant pupil, who at that time was prior of the Monastery of San Estéban in Salamanca, with which the University was connected. Wrote Charles V:[71]

> I have been informed that certain clerics who are teachers in your monastery have taken it upon themselves to discuss in their sermons and dissertations Our right to the isles of the Indies and to the lands across the ocean; and also the force and validity of the reparations which have been and are being made within Our domains, under the authority of our Most Holy Father (the Pope). You shall command the clerics and teachers in question to refrain, now and at all future times, from engaging in discussions, sermons, or debates without Our express permission regarding the topics mentioned above.

[69] *Summa*, I, II, qu. I, 1 and 2; I, II, 6, 2; *Contra gentiles*, cap. 110.

[70] *De Indis*, lib. I, caps. 21 and 23. Cf. also Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[71] Cf. for the Spanish text L. G. Getino, *El maestro fr. Francisco de Vitoria, su vida, su doctrina e influencia*, pp. 150-151. An English translation is in Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law, F. de Vitoria*, pp. 84-85.

Despite this curtailment of Vitoria's investigations, he continued to write his treatises on international law, which in a sense were based on his knowledge of conditions in New Spain. Under such titles as *De jure belli* and *De potestate civili,* he continued to belabor the colonial policy of the Spaniards, although after the lectures of *De Indis* he never again openly referred to the colonies or their inhabitants. The emperor continued to think highly of him and consulted him on legal matters. In 1545 Charles requested Vitoria to attend the Council of Trent as a Spanish delegate.[72]

Because of imperial opposition, de Vitoria was forced to abandon his discussion of colonial policy and was unable to answer fully the questions he had set himself in the opening paragraph of the lectures on *De Indis.* Nonetheless, from the rest of his discussion in *De Indis* and from his other writing his views are clear. His further treatment of Spain's right to expand and colonize opens with an analysis of the legal bases by which that colonization had tried to justify itself: (1) on the basis of the inherent power of the monarch or temporal ruler; (2) of the Pope; (3) on a mistaken interpretation of the rights of discovery and occupation; (4) on the Indians' refusal to become converts; (5) because of the sins of the Indians; (6) because of voluntary Indian recognition of Spanish supremacy; and (7) on the ground that as a special favor of God, He allowed the Spaniards to take over the Indians. Each point deserves a detailed analysis.[73]

1. *The authority of the monarch.* The Christian concept of the essential unity of the human race and the grandeur that once was Rome's led, in the Middle Ages, to an attempt to create a single and indivisible society in the western world. The struggle to create such a society centered on the conflict between emperor and Pope, as representatives of all temporal and spiritual power. Popes and emperors tried to settle the issue with little success. After the thirteenth century the influence of both "keepers of the swords" waned, that of the emperor more than that of the Pope. In the sixteenth century Charles V, who on one occasion referred to himself as "le chef laïque de la chrétienté," [74] was the last to try to recapture the power of the

[72] Getino, *El Maestro Francisco de Vitoria,* pp. 154 ff and Bö, *op. cit.,* p. 69. *cit.,* p. 69.

[73] *De Indis,* lib. II, passim.

[74] Cf. R. Redslob, *Histoire des grands principes de droit des gens* (Paris, 1923), p. 162.

old style emperors in the face of growing national states, economic self-sufficiency, and the bitter clash of Germanic and Roman concepts of law. Because of their economic interests, the Spaniards were rather willing to grant their emperor and king the old imperial authority. Vitoria in his discussion names seven arguments which seem to justify the emperor's position as "master of the world," the majority derived from the Gospel of St. Luke and from the precepts of Bartolus Sassoferrato.[75] Vitoria denies, however, that they prove the emperor is lord of the world on the grounds that it is contrary to natural law, divine law, and human law.[76] According to natural law, all men are free and no one has supremacy over the world. Civil law originates in nature because man is a social being. In reality, civil law is derived from human law. Divine law likewise does not recognize the supremacy of the emperor, because according to Scripture, the appointment of a king or emperor seems to require the sanction of God, as shown in *Deuteronomy* 2, where God prohibits the Jews from appointing a foreigner king over them. The emperors are not the successors of Noah—as Sassoferrato claimed—because after Noah's time the earth was divided into separate nations with the consent of the peoples concerned. There was a lord in each of those nations, and no one before the coming of Christ had, on the basis of divine law, supreme authority over the world. Vitoria considers it doubtful that Christ after His death left a person to take His place in temporal matters. Christ was not supreme authority in temporal matters to begin with ("My kingdom is not of this world"), and even if He had been, nowhere does it appear that He left that authority to the emperor.[77]

[75] Cf. *Luke*, 2:1; 20:25. Sassaferrato based his belief in the supremacy of the emperor on the fact that the bees have one ruler and hence, by analogy, there should be one ruler on earth; on the contention that the emperor was the natural successor to Adam and Noah who both were lords of the earth; on the contention that it would be unthinkable that God would not have established the best form of government, i.e. monarchy; and lastly on the belief that in nature there is always one leader, just as the body has the heart and the soul reason; hence, things that are not of nature should follow natural principles. Cf. F. C. von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1850), VI, 154 and 159, and E. Nys, "La Ligne de démarcation d'Alexandre VI," *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée*, XXVII (1895), 122 ff.

[76] *De Indis*, lib. II, cap. 1-2.

[77] *Ibid.* These principles were worked out further by de Vitoria in his *De potestate ecclesiae*, pt. 15-18 (in Scott, *The Spanish Origin*, appendix D). A good summary in Böhm, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-137.

Neither is the emperor lord of the world on the basis of human law, because that would presuppose the existence of such a human law, which is not the case. Even if there were a human law establishing world-supremacy of the emperor, that law would have no validity, because law presupposes in turn jurisdiction; and if the emperor, before the existence of such a law, did not have supreme power over the world, those living before the existence of the law could not be held responsible under it. Even if the emperor were lord of the world, that still would not entitle him to occupy and give away the towns and lands of the barbarians. As Böhm has noted, this last contention is of great importance: regardless of whether the emperor controls the world, he still does not have the right to rule the Indians, to levy taxes and tribute, or to enslave foreign peoples.[78] Here, Spanish colonial policy stands condemned. No wonder Charles was incensed over Vitoria's theories!

2. *The authority of the Pope.* Vitoria examines the legal justification for colonization on the basis of those who regard the Pope not only as the spiritual but also as the temporal ruler of the world, and who has given the Spanish rulers authority to establish their control over the Indians.[79] He first reviews the opinions of such schoolmen as Ostiensis, Sylvester, and St. Thomas, who hold that the kings of the world derive their authority from the supreme temporal powers of the Pope,[80] and who based their beliefs upon such biblical sayings as "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," [81] and upon Christ's pro-

[78] *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 2. As early as 1518 certain court-preachers upon the instigation of las Casas had maintained a similar position by declaring that the position of a monarch depends entirely upon the services he renders to his people. Since the *repartimiento* system in the colonies could not be termed a service of this kind and the Indians furthermore had not elected Charles as their ruler, the *repartimiento* system actually harmed the king because they encroached upon his position as monarch. In Helps, *op. cit.,* II, 57. A more or less identical view was advanced by las Casas in his *Traité sur la puissance des rois,* which is reprinted in Llorente, *Oeuvres de Las Casas,* II, 56-115. Cf. also Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 137.

[79] For the bulls of Alexander VI establishing the demarcation line cf. Davenport, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648,* pp. 72 ff.

[80] Cf. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West,* (Edinburgh, 1903-1928), III, 92 ff.

[81] *Psalm* 23:1.

nouncement: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." [82] Hence, the Pope as successor and Vicar of Christ possesses all temporal authority. Vitoria maintains that those who adhere to the doctrine of papal supremacy also believe the Pope has authority to appoint monarchs over the barbarians,[83] on the grounds that it was the custom to read a proclamation to the Indians, clearly relating how the Pope as successor to Christ had been given all authority on earth, entreating the Indians to "acknowledge the Church as sovereign mistress of the world and the Pope in her name and his Majesty the King in His place as Lord of these isles." [84]

In an effort to qualify this view, Vitoria defends the following theses: 1. The Pope does not possess civil or temporary supremacy over the world "in any real sense of the word." [85] To support this contention he quotes from the Scripture: "Ye know that princes of the Gentiles lord over them . . . it shall not be so among you." [86] As he has already indicated that Christ probably did not possess temporal powers, it is likewise fallacious to say that the Pope as Christ's successor should possess them. The Pope likewise does not possess the temporal authority from the point of view of natural law or of human law. The Pope has no authority over the infidels in spiritual matters. Did St. Paul not declare: "For what have I to do to judge them that are without?" [87] How could he have such authority in affairs of this world? 2. Even if the Pope had the temporal control of the world he still would not have the authority to delegate that authority to temporal rulers because their power would then be bound to the Papacy. 3. The Pope *does* have the authority to settle disputes between temporal rulers because this is in the best interest of the spiritual well-being of mankind. But since the Pope lacks the actual spiritual and temporal control over the infidels, he cannot urge that war be declared on them and that they be dispossessed. It would be most fallacious, in Vitoria's opinion, to declare war on the Indians because they are heathens and refuse to recognize Christ as their

[82] *Matthew* 28:18.

[83] *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 3.

[84] *Herrera, op. cit.,* dec. I, lib. VII, cap. 14 has the Spanish text. Cf. also Robertson, *op. cit.,* I, 378-381.

[85] *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 3.

[86] *Matthew* 20:25, 26; *Luke* 22:25, 26.

[87] *I Corinthians,* 5:12 and *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 4.

Lord. Furthermore, the Pope, as Christ's representative, could even less easily justify a war on those grounds. Vitoria ends his argument by saying that the Spaniards when they sailed to the Indies had no papal authority for their conquests, their treatment of the Indians, or for the colonial policy which they developed.[88]

3. *The right of occupation and discovery.* This right according to Vitoria was the one most consistently advanced to justify Spanish colonial policy and was also adhered to by Columbus. Seemingly, the right of discovery rests on sound foundation: "according to natural law and human law something that has been abandoned becomes the possession of whomever takes possession of it."[89] Since the Indians were rightful owners of their property, the Spaniards cannot occupy their land on this basis.[90] The right of occupation or usufruct, according to Vitoria, concerns things which are nobody's possessions, such as gold in the earth and pearls in the sea. Like Grotius in later years, Vitoria maintains that the act of discovery only confers the legal title of sovereignty if the discovery is in no one's possession at the time. This view would in later centuries be worked out to the extent that discovery and ownership of what is discovered become one and the same thing.[91] Vitoria's view that the original owner may not be dispossessed by the new discoverer came in that period—notably the era of nineteenth-century imperialism—to be disregarded.

[88] Cf. Vitoria's *De potestate ecclesiae*, pt. 12-14 (in Scott, *The Spanish Origin*, App. D).

[89] *Institutiones*, 2, 1, 12. Cf. also Carl Bruns, *Das Recht des Besitzes im mittelalter und in der Gegenwart* (Tubingen, 1848), chaps. I-III, passim.

[90] *De Indis*, lib. II, cap. 4-5.

[91] *Grotius* (H. de Groot), *Le droit de la guerre et de la paix* (J. Barbeyrac, transl.; Basel, 1746), chap. II, passim. Later Grotius drew a distinction between possession and rightful ownership (i.e. sovereignty) in his *Mare liberum sive de jure quod Batavia competit ad Indicana commercia dissertatio* (R. van Deman Maggofin, translator, New York, 1916), II, III, IV; II, IX, I. This opened the way in the nineteenth century for occupation of territory inhabited by "savage nations," who could not be regarded as exercising sovereignty over their possessions. Cf. D. D. Field, *Outlines of an International Code* (New York, 1876), articles 38 and 79. Others claimed that inferiority in culture of a people did not justify their dispossession [Cf. M. F. Lindley, *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law*, (London, 1926), pp. 12-23], a view also held by Vitoria, primarily on the basis that no difference exists between possession and sovereignty. Cf. Böhm, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-144, and Q. Albertini, *L'oeuvre de Francisco de Vitoria et la doctrine canonique du droit de la guerre* (Paris, 1903) pp. 82 ff.

4. *Refusal to become converts.* "The barbarians (Indians) are obligated to believe in Christ, on pains of war;" thus runs the fourth justification of colonial expansion which Vitoria considers. Barbarians are required to embrace Christianity on the basis of Christ's pronouncement: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." [92] On authorization of the Pope, as Christ's representative, the Spaniards are allowed to make war upon the Indians to convert them, and so the protagonists of this view believe the Christian monarch may make war upon any people or nation that openly disavows or slanders Christ and God.[93] To refute these views Vitoria draws up the following three theses, which he defends:

A. *Unbelief.* "Before foreign nations had heard of Christianity they did not commit the sin of unbelief on the grounds that they did not happen to believe in Christ." [94] With St. Paul ("How will they believe if they first do not hear, how shall they hear without a preacher") and such authorities as Altissiodorensis, Guillaume of Paris, and Gerson,[95] Vitoria believes that those "who have never heard" exist in a state of "invincible ignorance," which can only be altered (and consequently become sin) if "the preacher is not listened to or not believed." Furthermore, uncritical adherence to what a preacher tells them the first time would, according to Vitoria, not be to the best interests of the faith. They have the right to hear arguments and so become convinced.[96]

B. *The right to argument.* After the barbarians "have heard," and still do not believe, particularly after they have been *peaceably* admonished to do so, they will have committed mortal sin. But they are entitled to reasonable argumentation and should be inspired by the "Christian way of life of the Spaniards." Unfortunately, Vitoria continues, the faith has not spread in such a manner ("I have not heard of miracles and examples of a Christian God-fearing life, but

[92] *Mark,* 16:16 and *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 5.

[93] Prescott, *op. cit.,* I, 171, and Helps, *op. cit.,* I, 259, give examples of how this contention was carried over into colonial policy in the new world.

[94] *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 8.

[95] Cf. James L. Connoly, *John Gerson* (Louvain, 1928), pp. 43-68, J. N. Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius* (1st ed. Cambridge, 1907), chaps. 1-11, passim; C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), pp. 348 ff. and Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 145.

[96] *De Indis,* lib. II, cap. 11.

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I have been informed of countless cruelties, crimes and Godless practices"), and those who do set an example in the colonies are constantly hampered by materialistic and ruthless administrators.[97] C. *Property and unbelief.* Even if the Indians had been told of the Christian faith in the right manner and even if they then continued to disbelieve, they might not legally be dispossessed nor might the Spaniards make war on them.[98] Belief is fundamentally an act of faith, and to become a Christian because of fear of possible retributions if one does not, is sacrilegious and against the sacraments. To support this contention, Vitoria recalls the decisions of the Council of Toledo of 1323, and of the arguments of former emperors which never urged war on the infidels because of their unbelief.[99] War can never be a sound proof of the validity of the Christian religion.

5. *The other sins of the Indians.* The fifth justification of the colonial expansion of the Spaniards and of the wars with the Indians might conceivably involve the countless crimes and sins committed by the inhabitants of the new world, according to Vitoria. Their sins would not be positive breaches of God's law; it would be hard to prove to the Indians that they were such breaches, but the sins would be transgressions of the natural law, a law which is also valid for barbarians and which even they can understand, that to break it is an insult to God. Vitoria believes that "Christian monarchs cannot even on the express order of the Pope prevent barbarians or heathens from sinning against nature and cannot therefore punish them for it."[100] Vitoria had already indicated that the Pope had no authority over the Indians. He said the barbarians are either required to suffer the consequences of their sins or not. If they are not responsible, the Pope has no authority to punish them; if they are, the Pope is entitled to be recognized as their lord by the Indians. In Vitoria's opinion, if they do not recognize the Pope as such, that still constitutes no valid ground for war. Hence, Vitoria claims the fifth basis for colonial expansion is not valid. Besides, natural law, like all law, emanates from God. If the Indians knew of natural law they would

[97] *Ibid.*, cap. 12.

[98] *Ibid.*, cap. 13-15.

[99] J. Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de cánones de la iglesia española* (Madrid, 1849-1850) II, 35.

[100] *De Indis*, lib. II, cap. 16.

also know of Christ's precepts and laws which also come from God. The Indians clearly know neither the one nor the other.[101]

6. *Voluntary Indian recognition.* When the Spaniards for the first time came in contact with the Indians and urged them to recognize the Spanish monarch as their ruler, the Indians sometimes agreed to do so. Vitoria does not regard this a sound legal foundation for war or expansion because Indian recognition was often prompted by fear and based on ignorance. Furthermore, the Indians had their own rulers at the time and could not change masters without reason. By the same token, Indian rulers could not transfer their sovereignty without the consent of their people.[102]

7. *God's special favor.* The last argument concerns the view that all Indians are doomed, and hence God surrendered them to the Spaniards. Vitoria expresses his unbelief over the validity of any prophesies of that kind which are not supported by miracles. Even if the barbarians (Indians), because of divine providence, had come into the power of the Spaniards, the latter would still not be justified in treating them like slaves and uncivilized monsters as they had been doing. From a theological viewpoint, the Spaniards are not without sin themselves; and this argument rests upon unsound theological foundation.[103]

From the above it seems clear that Vitoria wished to destroy the concept of the supremacy of any spiritual or temporal authority in the West over regions and peoples not *de facto* under that authority. He urged equality in the relationship of Spaniards with Indians, since he believed that the idea of the Indians' inferiority was the fundamental error in Spanish colonial policy. By showing that neither Pope nor emperor could claim immediate control over the new world and its indigenous inhabitants, Vitoria cleared the way for the further development of his theory of colonial expansion, which would not exalt inferiority and submission on the part of one nation in its deal-

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Ibid.*, lib. II, caps. 16-17. Cf. M. F. Lindley, *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law*, pp. 173 ff., for the implications of this view on British policy in Africa. Fear and ignorance could not be considered as constituting a sound legal basis for any agreement between two nations from the point of view of international law.

[103] Cf. in this connection Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

ings with another, but would base itself rather upon equality and justice for all.[104]

The right to colonize. Vitoria is not merely destructive in his criticism of the Spaniards in the new world. In his lectures on the Indies, he endeavored to justify the right of any nation to set out for land across the seas and establish itself there. Not against colonization *per se,* but against the worst abuses of Spanish colonial policy are his lectures directed. In the third part of *De Indis* he defends the principle of colonization, not for the Spaniards alone, but for the benefit of all other imperialistic nations.[105] The basic concept which justifies colonization, Vitoria believes, is the theory that all states and nations have equal rights and obligations under the *jus gentium* in their relations with one another. The principle of reciprocity which also constitutes the essence of the modern law of nations should, according to Vitoria, govern colonial relations. St. Thomas, for whom the *jus gentium* and the *jus naturale* had a close connection (the former emanating from the latter), and Roman legal authorities, as Cicero and Gaius, are, of course, the forerunners in this theory (and perhaps even earlier sources could be found) to whom Vitoria acknowledges his debt.[106] Unlike St. Thomas, Vitoria is not convinced that the *jus gentium* is based on the *jus naturale.* Despite this positivist contention, he conceived of the law of nations as binding on the individual or on groups of individuals and as: 1) possessing the power to place responsibility and obligations on all men, and 2) as deriving its authority from the openly avowed or silently concluded agreement that to transgress the *jus gentium*—on the principle of reciprocity—would be unlawful.[107]

[104] Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law: Francisco de Vitoria and his Law of Nations,* pp. 3, 196, 288 and E. Wohlhaupter, "Francisco de Vitoria" *Staatslexicon* (Freiburg, 1932), V, 116.

[105] *De Indis,* lib. III, caps. 1 and 2.

[106] Cf. *Summa,* I, II, qu. 95, 4 and qu. 57, 3. For Gaius cf. *Digesto veteri* II, I, tit. 1, leg. 9 and J. Muirhead, ed., *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian* (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 17 ff. For Cicero cf. C. D. Yonge's translation of *De legibus* (London, 1878), 389 ff.

[107] *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 1 and 2. In this connection Vitoria quotes from *Institutiones,* 1, 2, 1, *De jure naturali et gentium:* "Whatever natural reason has implanted in the minds of all men and in all peoples is called the law of nations (*jus gentium*)."

On the basis of this concept of the *jus gentium,* Vitoria develops the following theses: 1.) The right of the Spaniards to go to the Indies and to remain there is an immediate consequence of the principle—embodied in the *jus gentium*—of free traffic between nations. No nation may prevent peaceful contact of another nation's citizens within its boundaries; trade and commerce should be unrestricted.[108] 2.) The Spaniards are allowed to import those goods of which the Indians stand in need, and are entitled to export those products of which there is a sufficient surplus in the foreign country. In the case of the Indians, that meant gold and silver. Neither the Spanish monarchs nor the Indian rulers can legally prohibit this trade, because a peaceful trade is "of profit to all men concerned." It would be against natural law, claims Vitoria, to prohibit trade without reason, because "all men are akin in nature;" [109] and to prohibit commerce would be to exclude one's kin without reason from the material benefits that one enjoys. The principle of hospitality, of treating one's guests with all proper deference, also supports the above beliefs, Vitoria argues, since even in the most barbaric countries there are laws governing the hospitable treatment of foreigners.[110] Vitoria cites Vergil's *Aeneid* ("What kind of people are these? They bar us from their hospitable shores.") to prove that even in antiquity hospitality was regarded as a normal duty. 3.) From the right of the Spaniards to go to foreign lands, to reside there, and to engage in peaceful trade and commerce, Vitoria next deduces the right of the Spaniards to share and participate in all native goods, rights, and activities. Hence, gold may be mined in the land that is held in common by all citizens of the country, and pearls may be obtained from the sea near the coast.[111] For the *jus gentium* prescribes that all property not specifically owned by an individual or group of individuals becomes the possession of whoever discovers it. Gold and pearls are consequently the property of those who

[108] According to natural law, thus Vitoria: "Running water, the sea, rivers and harbors are the possession of all nations (*Institutiones, 1, 2, de rerum divisione*) and the ships of all nations may use them freely."

[109] This Vitoria contends on the basis of the parable of the Good Samaritan, *Luke* 10. Cf. *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 2. and A. Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 161.

[110] "I was a stranger and you did not take me in," *Matthew* 25:43.

[111] *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 4.

discover and take possession of them.[112] 4.) Whenever children are born to those residing in a foreign land, these children should be granted full civil rights with the native inhabitants of the country. If this should not be done, these children would not hold citizenship of any country, which is contrary to natural and international law.[113] Hence, the children born of Spaniards in the new world should have equal rights with the Indians as regards property, contract, etc. 5.) If the barbarians seek to prevent the Spaniards from exercising those rights which the *jus gentium* grants to all people, the Spaniards would be allowed to defend themselves, provided they have at all times acted in good faith and have not malevolently sought to subjugate the Indians. In that case the Spaniards would even be allowed to build forts and to seek justice through war if there is no other possibility of settling a dispute. But this should only be attempted if all other means of conciliation have failed. The Spaniards should endeavor to convince the Indians that they have only peaceful intentions. They should remember that "the Indians are easily frightened and by nature dumb," [114] so that it would be very likely that if the

[112] Cf. Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[113] *Cod.* 7, 62, 11.

[114] *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 6. In connection with this point Vitoria later investigated the right to war. The tremendous value placed on human life, which led Luther at one time to declare that all warfare was unjustifiable, was also regarded by Vitoria as the factor which should deter nations from declaring war. Vitoria declared, however, with St. Thomas (*Summa,* II, II, qu. 40, 1) that war was legally justified if it was waged in order to prevent injustice or to revenge an injustice already committed. But the injustice must be very great and severe in order to resort to war to avenge it. The ultimate goal of war must be the establishment of law, justice, peace and security. (Cf. *De civitate Dei,* XV, 4, for the basis of this contention.) War may never be waged for the purpose of advancing a ruler's prestige; because of differences in religion or because one nation wishes to enlarge its territory through conquest. Vitoria notes explicitly that everything that preceded the exercise of the right to war must have been completely free from intrigue and falsehood lest the war be unjust. Upon the rulers concerned lies, therefore, the heavy responsibility to determine whether or not a war is about to be waged for just causes. Cf. F. de Vitoria, *De jure belli,* pt. 1, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17 (in Scott, *The Spanish Origin,* App. B.); Böhm, *op. cit.,* pp. 167 ff; Q. Albertini, *L'oeuvre de Francisco de Vitoria et la doctrine canonique du droit de la guerre,* p. 49 and R. Régout, *La doctrine de la guerre juste* (Leyden, 1934), pp. 14-35. In his commentary on the right of war (*De bello,* art. 1, pt. 3 and 19 in Scott, App. F.) Vitoria later qualified his previous concept of the "just war" by declaring that the purpose of the war which is to prevent injustice from recurring.

Indians saw armed Spaniards land on their coast they might believe their visitors had come for purposes of conquest and war. Such a war would be just for both sides: for the Spaniards, because they defend themselves against an enemy which they supposedly have not harmed in any way; for the Indians, because they live in a state of "impregnable ignorance." If the Indians, despite the peaceful intentions and remonstrances of the Spaniards, continued to treat the latter with enmity, the Spaniards would be justified in regarding the Indians as treacherous enemies and would be entitled to wage war against them with all the means at their disposal, to "rob and kill the Indians, to place them in captivity, to depose their own rulers and establish new ones, but always in accord with the gravity of the injustice that they (i.e., the Spaniards) have suffered." [115]

Vitoria places the structure of colonial policy on the basis of *jus gentium* because it regards the Indians as possessing equal rights with any other nation. But the Indians and Spaniards could also enter into relations with one another on the basis of the right to spread the Christian religion. To develop this contention, Vitoria discusses the following theses:

1.) Christians have the right to spread the Gospel in foreign countries.[116] Christians are even required to do so because of the "spirit of brotherly love, which urges them to convert those people that still live outside Christian blessedness."

2.) Since the Pope possesses *over Christians* complete spiritual authority and as much temporal authority as is necessary for the propagation of Christian principles, he is allowed to charge the Spaniards with the duty of propagating the faith among the Indians to the exclusion of all other Christian nations. If necessary—and this seems contradictory to Vitoria's earlier view—he can, in the interest of Christianization, even forbid other Christian nations from seeking contact with the Indians. Vitoria justifies this stand by declaring that if Christians from all nations would establish relations with the Indians, quarrels and even wars might result which would not be conducive to the spread of Christianity.[117]

[115] *De Indis*, lib. III, cap. 6.

[116] For a summary cf. Böhm, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff.

[117] *De Indis*, lib. III, cap. 9. In connection with this consult the excellent if dated summary by T. A. Schilling, *Lehrbuch des Naturrechts oder der philosophischen Rechtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1859) II, 279 ff.

3.) Fearful lest these views be misinterpreted and found contradictory to his other beliefs, Vitoria hastens to add that the Spaniards should not take possession of any territory. If the spread of Christianity proceeds unhampered, he stresses his previous contention that the acceptance or the refusal of Christianity on the part of the Indians may not influence fundamental Spanish colonial policy.[118] It is to be wondered whether Vitoria was aware of the paradoxical thesis which he developed here, since permission to spread the Christian faith in practice could on the very grounds which he previously considered lead to a "just war." [119]

4.) Even if the Indians prevent the Spaniards from spreading the Gospel, the latter—after explaining to the Indians their reason for doing so—could still continue missionary work. If Spanish missionaries were killed by the Indians, or if native converts were subjected to penalties and death, the Spaniards would be justified in declaring war. If the faith demands it, the Spaniards are then entitled to depose native rulers. But, as Vitoria remarks, quoting St. Paul,[120] everything that is permissable is, therefore, not necessarily useful or virtuous. War has proved to be a deterrent factor in the spread of the true faith and Spaniards would do well to realize that.[121] As he remarks: "I do not doubt that the force of arms was often necessary for the continuation of Spanish existence but I fear that the Spaniards have often gone too far in this respect." [122]

5.) Should the Indians try to force Indian converts to Christianity to return to their heathen practices, the Spaniards have the right to

[118] *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 12.

[119] Later on Vitoria indicated (*De jure belli,* pt. 10, 11, and 12 and *supra,* p. 14) that differences in religion never constituted a just ground for war. The spread of Christianity, as Vitoria well knew, would inevitably lead to dissension with the Indians, as history showed. The fundamental issue then would involve a careful delimitation of the Indians' right to exercise their sovereign rights on their own soil (including resistance to Christianity) and the permission of the Spaniards to exercise their rights under the *jus gentium.* The fact that Vitoria dragged in the right to spread the Gospel, which does not seem justified under international law as such, thus placed his concepts often in a paradoxical position and his discussion often degenerates into an ethereal, academic analysis far removed from actual conditions.

[120] *I Corinthians* 6:12.

[121] *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 12.

[122] *Ibid.,* also quoted in A. Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 166.

prevent this even if it should mean war. When a large section of the Indians have become converts, the Pope would have the authority to give them a new ruler in the interests of Christianity. In this connection Vitoria quotes from St. Thomas, who maintained that the Church was at liberty to free all Christian slaves from their infidel masters, even if they had legally been made prisoners of war.[123] If the Church has this authority she would certainly be justified in liberating Christian subjects from their infidel ruler. If rulers make tyrannical laws which harm innocent persons (such as human sacrifices), the Spaniards would be allowed to prevent such practices, even at the cost of war and even if the Indians themselves were not convinced of their wrongdoings.[124]

6.) When Indians, both subjects and rulers, noting the high degree of Christian civilization and good government of the Spaniards, would voluntarily submit themselves to the Spanish king, the latter should be only too pleased to aid them in developing as believers of the true faith. Upon the Spaniards consequently lies the heavy burden of conducting themselves at all times as civilized Christians so that the Indians will gladly welcome their arrival and rule.[125]

7.) When two Indian nations carry on just wars between themselves, and one side obtains the friendship and support of the Spaniards in the war, the latter would in case of victory be entitled to share in the spoils of war and obtain concessions at the peace. Vitoria believes that the Toltecs had thus sought the support of the Spaniards in Mexico.[126] However, the Spaniards as good Christians may only extend such aid, declares Vitoria, if the nation that makes the request has clearly suffered an injustice. In another connection Vitoria de-

[123] *Summa*, II, II, qu. 10, 10.

[124] *De Indis*, lib. III, cap. 14, 15.

[125] *Ibid.*, cap. 16. In a previous connection (*De Indis*, lib. II, cap. 16) Vitoria had indicated that voluntary submission based on ignorance and fear was illegal (Cf. *supra*, p. 14.) In this thesis, he then qualifies this previous contention. Only if fear and ignorance are wholly absent in the Indian offer could the Spaniards accept this homage.

[126] As hereditary foes of the Aztecs, the Toltecs greatly aided Cortés in the overthrow of the Mexican empire only to sink into general ruin and degradation after their pact of friendship with the Spaniards. Cf. Prescott, *op. cit.*, II, 12-26, 243-305. Vitoria is also of the opinion that the peoples in the Roman Empire were through such a process of "requested assistance" brought under Roman sway. (*De Indis*, lib. III, cap. 17).

clares that one's friends are in a sense part of oneself and their misfortunes befall oneself too.[127]

8.) In the last thesis Vitoria again assumes a paradoxical position when he declares that although the Indians are by no means devoid of sound sense, they are *in some cases* clearly unable to lead a decent upright life and properly manage their affairs for their own benefit. Thus, if the state of certain Indians had reached a grave level of degeneration, some Christian rulers could, in the interest of Christian decency, take over the government of the Indians for their own benefit. Such a government would partake of the nature of a paternalistic tutellage process by which the Indian would be raised to a higher level of cultural development.[128] Nineteenth-century liberal colonial policy, especially in French and Dutch possessions—formulated by middle class utopians with an eye for their money as well as the welfare of the native, believers in "the everlasting yea" of government and all of them optimists—would revive this concept in due time.[129] But Vitoria did not fail to express in the same connection his fears that this policy might be abused and become a front for ruthless exploitation.[130]

Summarizing, we may say that Vitoria's theses rest upon a concept of the fundamental rights of each nation under international law, mixed with humanitarianism. Grotius would later popularize these concepts.[131] The right of intervention in modern times seems to stem almost wholly from the philosophy of war as developed by Vitoria.[132] Vitoria gave in his lectures on the Indies something of a patent of nobility to Spanish colonial administration. Although it seems clear

[127] *De bello,* ad. Art. 1, pt. 5 (Scott, *The Spanish Origin,* App. F).

[128] *De Indis,* lib. III, cap. 18.

[129] Cf. for example S. Roberts, *History of French Colonial Policy,* (London, 1929), I, 4 ff and A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, *Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indie* (The Hague, 1931), I, 1-3, II, 651.

[130] Böhm, *op. cit.,* p. 173; Y. de la Brière, "Théorie et exercise des mandats dans leurs rapports avec le problème social dans les Colonies," *Semaines Sociales de France,* XXII session, Marseilles, 1930, cf. note 140, p. 249, and B. de Solages, *op. cit.,* p. 153. The two last named references indicate how Vitoria's doubts were also entertained by many colonial administrators of a later date.

[131] Scott, *The Spanish Conception of International Law and of Sanctions,* p. 51, and E. Wohlhaupter, "Francisco de Vitoria," *Staatslexikon,* V, 864.

[132] de Groot, *op. cit.,* II, XX, XL, and C. van Vollenhoven, *Grotius and Genève* (Leyden, 1926), p. 29.

that his precepts were often openly flouted—if they were known at all—at least the concept of civilizing the Indian through introduction of the Christian religion, which Vitoria fully subscribed to, lifted the Spanish colonial policy from the level of mere exploitation for its own sake. Other colonizing powers, England, France, and the Netherlands, adhered to this policy. As one student has written:[133]

> The enrichment of the mother country, which was one of the motives behind Spanish colonization, was for other colonial powers, with the possible exception of Portugal, the only motive.

England and the Netherlands, which later loved to point out the horrors of "popish" Spanish colonial policy, were themselves far less able to step back and view their colonial administration objectively or inveigh against it as a las Casas or a Vitoria could in the sixteenth century. Despite the paradoxes in his writings, Vitoria was certainly the first to try to raise the level of his country's colonial policy and ground it firmly on the twin bases of international law and Christian humanitarianism. It is worthwhile to indicate briefly how certain grounds of justification of colonial expansion in later centuries resembled Vitoria's ideas.[134]

The nature of colonial policy. Vitoria recognized the existence within the broad realm of kindred humanity of smaller groups and entities (nations and states) which served in the first and last analysis the mutual welfare of their citizens. This concept does not merely include a defense of personal liberties, but also a genuine concern on the part of the state to strive for the "bonum commune," or as Vitoria put it, the "felicitas politica."[135] These political entities, in the Thomist tradition, are equal in rights. For example, the states of the heathens are, in Vitoria's concept, legal states and their rulers are legal rulers. Vitoria's fundamental standpoint is, then, the absolute equality of all peoples before a law of nations. However, in later centuries people came to believe this principle of full equality could also lead to a high degree of inequality because of the existence of nations and peoples who would be unable, because of their primitive culture, to

[133] Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 57 and Leslie B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain*, pp. 1 ff.

[134] D. D. Field, *Outlines of an International Code*, art. 316-319.

[135] Cf. *De Indis*, lib. II, cap. 5 and Vitoria's *De potestate civile*, pt. 9 (in Scott, *The Spanish Origin*, app. C); also Böhm, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

exercise their rights and live up to their obligations. The result in the nineteenth century was the concept of the colonial protectorate system which combined the desire for material benefits derived from the "protected" area with the equally strong urge on the part of the paternalistic liberal politicians to "lift" colonial nations to a higher degree of civilization, and to take their education and general welfare in hand.[136] In many cases the protectorate system merely meant outward control by a foreign power while the colonial nation remained largely autonomous. But the French Revolution had earlier expressed the absolute equality of all men through its concept of natural law and embodied in Rousseau the fundamental paradox between the natural man and man under colonial rule. Theoretically this made every colonization process impossible.[137] Colonies had become either independent or had become "dominions" in the wake of the American and French Revolutions, and the very word "colonization" became distasteful. Thus, the protectorate concept in a sense revived the eighth justification given by Vitoria: the right to colonize whenever a sense of humanitarianism prompted a superior, civilized nation to educate and "lift up" an inferior one. In more modern times, the terms "trusteeship" and "wardship" have been used in connection with this principle. In the first place, "trusteeship" and "wardship" have come to mean the "duties which the advanced peoples collectively owe to backward races in general;" in terms of the "white man's burden" or as the Covenant of the League of Nations put it in its mandates article, "a sacred trust of civilization." In the second place, these terms have come to mean specific duties which a certain power owes to backward races under its immediate control.[138] This concept, as Lindley has indicated, was expressed, for example, as early as Burke's speech in the House of Commons on Fox's India Bill in 1783 and in the role of the United States government as the guardian of the Indians, adopted by the Supreme Court in 1831.[139]

[136] Lindley, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff.

[137] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, I, 31-132, II, 2 ff. and Arthur Giraud, *Principes de colonisation et de législation coloniale* (5th ed., Paris, 1927), pp. 3-15.

[138] Lindley, *op. cit.*, pp. 329 ff; *The League of Nations and Mandates*, (Geneva, 1924), *passim* and Sir Frederick Lugard, "The Mandate System and the British Mandates," *Journal of the Society of Arts*, LXXII (1924), 535 ff.

[139] T. C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the year 1803* (London, 1806 onwards), 23, cols. 1316-1317; A. H.

The trustee principle is founded then on the concept of a family of nations in which the more fortunate members should aid the less fortunate. The wardship principle is more materialistic: all mineral wealth and national resources of a country are to be exploited for the benefit of all mankind, including the colony, and a "superior" nation has the right and duty to develop the resources of an "inferior" nation if that has only partly occurred or has not been done at all.[140]

Both the "wardship" and the "trusteeship" principle in colonial relations find their origins in Vitoria's concept of the right to overseas expansion. The favorite contention of modern colonial powers that their task was "to lift up" the peoples of their overseas dependencies partakes of the broad humanitarian basis of all of Vitoria's legal philosophy. It would be no exaggeration to say that he was "the father of modern colonial policy." But he also indicated that the task of civilizing might hide, under the phraseology of humanitarianism and progress, the harsh realities of merciless exploitation.[141] Modern colonial policy has endeavored to make the phraseology real and to make of the realities in due time a memory. The Dutch since 1901 have spoken of their *Ethische Politiek* (ethical policy) in the East Indies,[142] the French had their "assimilation-association" program and their "mission civilatrice."[143] The English with their concept of

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Snow, *The Question of Aborigines in the Law and Practice of Nations* (New York, 1921), chap. III, *passim* and Lindley, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[140] F. Tummers, "Het Vraagstuk der koloniaale Verhouding," *Studien*, CXIII (1930), 174-194 and C. Delos, "L'expansion coloniale est-elle légitime," *Semaines Sociales de France*, XXII session, Marseilles, 1930, *Compte Rendu des cours*, (Paris, Lyon, 1930), 135.

[141] *De Indis*, lib. III, cap. 18.

[142] Kat Angelino, *op. cit.*, I, chap. 1, *passim*. This author is representative of the new trend in colonial policy in the Netherlands East Indies. Cf. his pronouncement (I, 3) "To aid and assist the weaker peoples towards development is becoming everyday a more marked characteristic of colonial policy." The same author has also made an attempt to assess the influence of international law upon the growth of colonial policy. For the "ethical policy" of the Dutch in the Indies, cf. also P. Brooshooft, *De Ethische Koers in de koloniale Politiek* (Amsterdam, 1901); C. Th van Deventer, "Een Eereschuld," *De Gids*, XXI (1899), 124 ff., and for a good summary, J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India* (Cambridge and New York, 1944), pp. 229 ff.

[143] Cf. *Récueil des délibérations du congrès colonial national*, (Paris, 1889-1890), I, 16; II, 14 ff.; L. Deschamps, *Histoire de la question coloniale en France* (Paris, 1891), pp. 112-236, and J. Harmand, *Domination et colonisation*

commonwealth and gradual autonomy for the colonial nation likewise trod in Vitoria's footsteps,[144] and even Germany and Italy departed from their *strenge Gerechtigkeit* program of ruthless exploitation with the reforms of Dernburg and of such Italian administrators as were influenced by the French colonial reformers Lyautey and Gallieni.[145] Yet much of the present colonial relationship when analyzed in terms of Vitoria's concepts of *jus naturale* and *jus gentium* seems to hide behind "ethical" and "civilizing" gestures still too much of the same kind of crass exploitation which men as las Casas and Vitoria condemned. The rise of nationalism, especially in Asia, testifies to that fact.

Present colonial relations do not find their justification in the fact that they have historically come into existence in a certain manner, nor in the fact that in later years the colonial power has often showered the blessings of western civilization upon the "backward native." What has been occupied illegally for a term of years in the Roman tradition and in canon law (prescriptive right) may certainly continue to be held, but next to that, the illegality of the act of acquisition remains. The justification for colonial possession rests then solely upon its contribution to the general welfare of mankind, a view first advanced by Vitoria. Colonial powers are realizing that the lectures on the Indies by an obscure theologian of the sixteenth century were nothing short of the handwriting on the wall.

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(Paris, 1910), pp. 13-16. Nonetheless one authority (Roberts, *op. cit.*, I, 70) has condemned the French assimilation policy, declaring it to be "undoubtedly the least practical, the least progressive and even the least humanitarian of all the theories of colonial relationship."

144 Klaus E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850* (Toronto, 1944), pp. 366 ff; R. M. Martin, *Colonial Policy of the British Empire* (London, 1837), pp. 80-100, and H. E. Egerton and A. P. Newton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, 1932), pp. 243 ff.

145 A. Brunialti, *Le colonie degli Italiani* (Torino, 1897), pp. 409 ff, 416, 430 ff, and A. Rossi, "La incerta politica africana," *Nuova Antologia*, November 16, 1897. For German policy cf. F. Fabri, *Fünf Jahre deutscher kolonial Politik* (Gotha, 1889), pp. 3 ff; J. Graf Peil, *Vorschläge zur praktischen Kolonisation in Ost-Afrika*, (Berlin, 1888), pp. 45-119 and J. Wohltmann, "Over de duitsche koloniale Politiek," *De Indische Gids*, II (1897), 1387 ff.

MISCELLANY

DOCUMENTS OF POPE LEO X IN THE MORGAN LIBRARY

GEORGE K. BOYCE*

The autograph manuscript collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library[1] contains a considerable number of original papal documents,[2] along with numerous letters written by or to members of the Roman Curia. They cover a wide range in date, from the twelfth to the present century, and include examples of most of the known types of papal documents (great bulls, letters of grace, indulgences, petitions, briefs, and those administrative decrees which are called after their initial phrase *Motu proprio*), as well as letters and documents signed by cardinals who were subsequently elevated to the papacy, letters addressed to popes by prelates outside of Rome, etc.

These papers came into the Morgan Library from various sources, for the most part from collections which had been assembled as autographs of the pontiffs or other ecclesiastical notables. The group is consequently varied, comprising some first-class documents of historical value, others which are important principally as fine specimens of their types—and, as such, of value for the study of papal diplomatics and palaeography, and still others of interest only to the antiquarian or autograph fancier.

The majority of the documents are of the Renaissance period or later, but some few belong to the Middle Ages. In a cursory glance through them I have noted a dozen papal documents, properly so called, earlier, than the sixteenth century, of which three are illuminated indulgences from Avignon, and four are of the pontificate of Alexander VI. These papers have never been calendared or otherwise treated as a group. Most of them appear to have received no attention at all, other than the brief listing in De Ricci's *Census*[3] which is not only incomplete (as he points out),

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[1] It is a pleasure to record here my indebtedness to my colleague, Dr. C. F. Bühler, to whose wide and thorough scholarship I owe the resolution of a number of difficulties in connection with these documents.

[2] On papal diplomatics in general cf. A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), especially the chapter entitled "La chancellerie pontificale", pp. 661-704; H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1912-1931. 2v.), I, 72-85, 104-124, 191-352; R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge, 1915).

[3] Seymour De Ricci, *Census of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-1940. 2v.), II, 1516-1636. The author states on page 1362 that his listing of the Morgan autograph material makes no claim to completeness. Corrections to be made in his descriptions of the ten documents discussed in this paper are pointed out in the notes.

but rather inaccurate. It seems desirable, therefore, to bring them to the attention of scholars, with descriptions detailed enough, not merely to identify each item as a papal document of a certain type and date, but to describe its contents adequately for the historian.

I have chosen the ten documents of Leo X (1513-1521) for consideration in the present paper. They form an interesting group, made up of two briefs, two *motu proprio,* and six *cedulae* filling vacancies in episcopal sees. All are signed, whether by the Pope himself, by one of his secretaries, Bembo or Sadoleto, or by his vice-chancellor, his cousin Giulio de' Medici, later Pope Clement VII. In date they extend from the Pope's first to his eighth year.

It is of particular importance that the records of the Renaissance popes be made known. They did not share in that intense and very fruitful scrutiny given the documents of the early and mediaeval popes following the opening of the Vatican Archives to scholars by Leo XIII. Consequently, whereas the *acta* of the Holy See down to the Great Schism are fairly well covered by the several collections of published *Regesta* edited by Jaffé, Potthast, Kehr, and the École Française de Rome,[4] there has been no publication of the records of any of the later popes. A complete edition of the *Regesta* of Leo X was begun,[5] but was, unfortunately, abandoned when it had progressed through eighteen months of his reign. Only one of our ten documents is registered in that collection.

A. *Briefs.*[6]

1. 1514. May 1. Rome, St. Peter's. Brief[7] addressed to the government and community of Genoa in protest against the exorbitant port duties which they are reported to be imposing on the people of Savona, and urging them to end this unjust, unheard-of extortion. Signed by the papal secretary, Jacopo Sadoleto,[8] sealed (on the reverse) with the "anulus

[4] A bibliography of published "Regesta" and related studies is given in Giry, *op. cit.,* pp. 663-664, and Bresslau, *op. cit.,* I, 111-113.

[5] *Leonis X Regesta.* Ed. J. Cardinal Hergenroether (Freiburg, 1884-1891), covering the period from Leo's accession in March, 1513, to October 16, 1515.

[6] On the brief cf. the article "Bulls and Briefs" by Herbert Thurston in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* III, 56-57; Giry, *op. cit.,* 699-701; Bresslau, *op. cit.,* I, 83-4.

[7] This document came to the Morgan Library laid in a copy of J. Sadoleto, *Duo . . . poemata heroica.* (Venice) In Academia Venetiana, 1559. Recorded in Hergenroether's *Regesta,* I, 522 (no. 8275); not listed by De Ricci.

[8] Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547), humanist and Latin stylist, as well as theologian and ecclesiastical dignitary. Appointed secretary by Leo shortly after the latter's elevation, he continued to fill that post (except for the brief pontificate of Hadrian VI) until 1527. A collection of the letters which Sadoleto wrote in the names of Leo X and Clement VII was published in several edi-

piscatoris" (the seal has been lost); written on an oblong piece of fine vellum (5¾ by 19½ inches); addressed on the reverse "Dilectis filiis Antianis[9] et communitati Genuæ."

The middle portion of the letter runs:

". . . Cum itaque proxime acceperimus, id a Republica uestra agi, ut cuidam insolito oneri obligentur [Sauonenses], et quinque octauas ex centenario pretii mercium Sauonensium portui inuectarum persoluant; quod in hunc usque diem non est auditum, uisum nobis est extra honestatis terminos et iustitiæ fieri, et sociale ius foederisque formulam ac conditiones cum ea ciuitate conuentas per ista corrumpi: et ea propter cum neque ius neque consuetudo ad haec deueniri suadeat, Devotionem uestram in domino hortamur, atque astringimus ut ab huiusmodi coeptis nostri contemplatione desistatis; et Sauonenses noua hac et inusitata ante hunc diem vexatione liberetis . . ."

This document concerns a new outbreak in 1514 of the age-old conflict between Savona and Genoa. Following the death, in the previous year, of Julius II, a native of Savona, who had tried to protect his home city from her more powerful, voracious neighbor to the East, Genoa seized the opportunity to impose harsh commercial restrictions on the people of Savona, in an attempt to destroy the trade of her neighboring rival. Savona appealed first to the Doge of Genoa and, when he failed to support them, took their case, in turn to the emperor, the Pope, and Francis I of France. The course of the quarrel is reviewed by I. Scovazzi and F. Noberasco in their *Storia di Savona*,[10] where Leo X is given little credit for his response to the Savona appeal. He is said to have contented himself with "recommending" the Savonese to the authorities in Genoa. If

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tions, of which the best is agreed to be that edited by V. A. Costanzi (Rome, 1759). This contained only ninety-eight of the letters he wrote for Leo. Hergenroether added many more in the published portion of his *Regesta;* the majority remain unprinted. Cf. Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages . . . From the German.* (London, 1891-1941. 34v.; Vols. 7-8, 1908, ed. by R. F. Kerr, cover the pontificate of Leo X), VIII, 197-199 and especially 198n.

[9] The Consilium Antianorum (Anziani) or Sapientium which tempered the power of the doge during the period in which he held his tenure for life. The several magistracies and offices of the government of Genoa at different periods are conveniently differentiated in the section "Istituzioni della Repubblica" of the article on Genoa by V. A. Vitale in *Enciclopedia italiana*, XVI, 567. Other documents addressed to the "Antiani" will be found among those printed in L. G. Pélissier, "Documents pour l'histoire de l'établissement de la domination française à Gênes," in *Atti della società ligure di storia patria*, XXIV (1892), 374, 379, 484 et passim.

[10] Savona, 1926-1928. 3v., III, 64-67.

the authors refer to the present letter (as seems likely, since they comment on the paucity of documents on this phase of the old quarrel, and this letter is registered in the *Leonis X Regesta*), they do the Pope less than justice. It is clear that he did bring to bear whatever moral influence he possessed. That the Genoese did not heed his plea is apparent in the sequel, since Savona was constrained to look to the King of France for relief.

The correct interpretation of the levy of "five-eighths on a hundred of the value of the goods of the Savonese," is debatable. Scovazzi and Noberasco quote from another document which describes the Genoese demand as "quosdam drictus sive octavos pro quolibet centenario."

2. 1517. January 4. Rome, St. Peter's. Brief[11] addressed to Henry VIII of England, announcing the dispatch of Nicolaus Scomberg[12] to represent the Holy See at the meeting which was to be held shortly at Cambrai by "several Christian Kings" or their representatives, and asking credence for Nicolaus. Signed by the papal secretary, Pietro Bembo,[13] sealed (on the reverse) with the "anulus piscatoris" (the seal has been lost), written on an oblong piece of vellum (5½ by 17 inches), addressed on the reverse "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliae Regi illustri."[14] Because of its interest, I transcribe the complete text of this letter.

[11] From a collection of autographs of the House of Tudor acquired from J. Pearson & Co., London. Described by De Ricci, II, 1588 as "Leo X. Letter . . . to King Henry VIII concerning the Turks, and mentioning Nicolas de Sconbergh."

[12] Nicolaus Scomberg (alias Schonbergh, Schoenberg), 1472-1537, a German, Procurator-General of the Dominican Order, was subsequently to become Archbishop of Capua and a cardinal (under Paul III). He served the Holy See several times as emissary or legate to continental rulers and made more than one trip to England. Cf. J. P. Migne, *Dictionnaire des cardinaux*, (Paris, 1857), col. 1507-08; *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 23, 423, 642-643.

[13] Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), one of the most illustrious humanists of the early sixteenth century, appointed secretary by Leo X in 1513. For his significance in the intellectual life of the Renaissance, the account of J. A. Symonds has not been superseded [*The Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning*, 3d ed., (London, 1897), pp. 297-300]; for his role at the papal court, cf. Pastor's *History*, VIII, 191-197. In an appendix Pastor (pp. 482-510) discusses at length the reliability of the "Leonine letters" of Bembo, that selection from his correspondence written in the name of Leo X which the secretary edited and published after he had left the Roman Curia (Venice, 1535-36). Pastor's conclusion, that Bembo made considerable alterations in point of language and expression, does not affect our brief, which is not included among them.

[14] A form of address reserved by the Pope for kings; a bishop was saluted as "Venerabilis Frater," all others as "Dilecti filii;" cf. Giry, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

LEO PAPA X^s

Charissime in Christo fili noster salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum intellexerimus de Conuentu per nonullos Christianos Reges proxime Cameraci vel illis in locis celebrando: mittentes dilectum filium Nicolaum de Sconbergh ordinis prædicatorum familiarem nostrum, nobisque propter eius egregias virtutes et religionem apprime et probatum et charum, ut eo in conuentu una cum nostris apud illos Reges Nuntiis adsit; quo res facilius ad uniuersalem omnium Christianorum Principum ineundam et tractandam pacem succedant; ei mandauimus ut Maiestatem tuam adiret, eidemque ut pote quam de nobis deque sede hac sancta optime incessanterque promeritam singulari quodam animi nostri affectu, paternaque beniuolentia unice in Domino prosequimur; consilia mentemque nostram communicaret: hoc presertim tempore, quo pro[p]ter incredibiles Turcarum Tyranni successus ingentemque contra Aegyptios partam victoriam necesse est, ut agi per nos de iminentibus Christianæ republicæ periculis pro communi bono euitandis, si uere Christiani sumus, ne differatur. Quamobrem erit nobis gratum, ut Nicolao ipsi tecum nostro nomine agenti omnibus in rebus omnem prorsus fidem adhibeas. Idque ut facias, te hortamur. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die iiii Januarii. M.D. xvii. Pontificatus nostri Anno Quarto:—

BEMBUS

One of several letters addressed by the papal chancery to Henry VIII, urging him to join in a concerted action by the powers of Europe against the Turks, whose recent victories under Selim I seemed to threaten Christendom.[15] I find the Morgan letter nowhere recorded; the corresponding brief addressed to Francis I of France on the same day, also signed by Bembo and couched in similar, though not identical, language, was first published by Pastor in an appendix to his *History*.[16] Another, somewhat longer letter, dispatched by Leo to Henry on the same day, but drawn up by Sadoleto, is printed in the *Calendar of State Papers*.[17] In the Sadoleto letter the Pope pleads with the English king to send ambassadors to Rome to discuss measures for meeting the common peril; the dispatch of Scomberg is mentioned, but only secondarily, in a note added subsequently in the hand of Sadoleto himself. We have here an instance of two letters sent by the papal chancery to the same addressee on the same day, but

[15] *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 91; H. A. L. Fisher, *History of England . . . Henry VII to the death of Henry VIII* (London, 1910), p. 203; J. S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII . . . Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents* (London, 1884) I, 274-277.

[16] Pastor, *History*, VII, 458.

[17] *Letters and Papers, Foreign & Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII . . .* Ed. J. S. Brewer, II, part 2 (1864) no. 2749.

drawn up by the hands of different secretaries.[18] On the following day, a letter of authorization and instruction went forward to Scomberg himself, urging him to do all he could to promote a joint expedition of Christian kings against the Turks. Four days later still another letter along the same lines was sent off to Henry VIII in the name of the College of Cardinals.[19]

The meeting was held at Cambrai in March, 1517, as the Pope understood it would be, though without the participation of the English monarch. There the representatives of Francis I, Maximilian I, and Charles of Spain discussed not merely measures to be taken against the Turk but even the partition of his domains among the would-be conquerors.[20]

B. *"Motu proprio."* [21]

3. Undated (but between 19 March 1513, and 8 March 1517)[22] Motu proprio[23] instructing his vice-chancellor, Sixtus de Franciottis de Rovere, to grant the "Constitution of Julius II Against Appeal to a Future Council" [24] to Magister Ferdinand de Fontecha, in settlement of a con-

[18] One is tempted to conclude from the fact that this brief is not with the others in the Public Record Office, that it was not actually dispatched to England, but cancelled and superseded by the more detailed Sadoleto letter, to which a note about Scomberg had been added. The Bembo brief bears, however, the usual indications of dispatch and perhaps filing after receipt. It was folded, addressed, and sealed. Beneath the address was written, in the hand of the text, "St". On the other side of the folded packet a note of the contents was written around the seal (apparently after the vellum had been unfolded) in quite a different hand: "militaris. Leo. X. 4. Januarii. 1517. Pont. a. 4. Foedus in conventu cameraci (?) Pro Nicolao Schomberg."

[19] Nos. 2752 and 2759 in the collection cited in note 17 above.

[20] Letter no. 3015 in the same collection, dated 16 March 1517, is a report to Henry VIII on the results of the meeting; cf. too H. A. L. Fisher, *loc. cit.*; Pastor, *op. cit.*, VII, 219.

[21] Cf. the article "Motu Proprio" by A. A. MacErlean in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 602.

[22] During this period Sixto della Rovere served as Leo's vice-chancellor; cf. C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*. Ed. 2 (Münster, 1913-23. 3v.) III, 11, no. 18.

[23] The document came to the Morgan Library in the autograph album of "Mme. Elizabeth" (Elizabeth Philippine Marie Hélène, Princess of France, 1764-1794, the sister of Louis XVI). It is listed in de Ricci (II, 1588) merely as a signed, undated document of Leo X.

[24] This constitution will be found among the acta of Julius II in the Magnum bullarium romanum (*Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum taurinensis editio . . .* (Turin, 1857-1872). 25v.; V, 479-81; the date is July 1, 1509. On papal constitutions in general, cf. the article "Papal Constitutions," by W. Fanning in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 321-322.

troversy over the income of Turna and Armellada (Diocese of Oviedo in Spain), in which Ferdinand de Vones(?) and Joannes de Yonez were involved. The document bears the same heading as the briefs, "Leo Papa X"; the text begins "Motu proprio cum sicut accepimus." The Pope has indicated his approval below the text with the words, "Placet et ita mandamus I [oannes]."[25] Written on a sheet of paper (7¾ by 8½ inches) having a "siren" watermark.[26] A brief indication of the content of the document is given in two different headings written across the top of the sheet in a contemporary hand; the first reads, "Mandatum concedendi constitutionem Julii papae II contra appellantes ad futurum concilium."

4. Undated Motu proprio[27] granting to the cubicularii and scutiferi[28] of his household the privilege of having their letters forwarded gratis. The document has no heading of any sort; the text begins "Motu proprio Cum nos nuper." The papal approval in this case reads, "Placet et ita motu proprio mandamus I [oannes]." Written on a sheet of paper (11⅛ by 8⅝ inches) without watermark.

Regulations governing the functioning of the papal chancery and the forwarding of letters by it were frequently issued and frequently altered. Those current under the popes of the first half of the fifteenth century, from John XXII to Nicholas V, were collected and published by O. Ottenthal, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiregeln* (Innsbruck, 1888), where a somewhat

[25] The Pope signed "Motu proprio" and petitions with the initial of his baptismal name: Cf. Giry, *op. cit.*, pp. 702-703; Bresslau, *op. cit.*, I, 84 and II, 104-6. Leo X (Giovanni-Iohannes) used a simple straight line for his capital "I", while Clement VII (Giulio-Iulius) curved the letter into a semblance of our "J".

[26] Similar to no. 13883 in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Paris, 1907. 4v.).

[27] From the Azzolini collection of Italian autographs; listed by De Ricci (II, 1588) as a document of Leo X, signed and dated (August 16, 1522). The reverse side bears the note "Motus proprius pro Collegio Scriptorum apostolicorum die xvi Augusti 1522." The hand is quite different from that of the text but not necessarily later. The date, if meant to apply to the document, is in error, for Leo died in December, 1521, and the approval ("Placet", etc.) is unquestionably in his hand.

[28] The official "Familia" of Leo X of which these two groups made a part, was inordinately large. According to a contemporary list, dated May 1, 1514, it comprised 683 persons separated into three ranks. To the top rank belonged five groups including sixty-eight "Cubicularii" and ninety-four "Scutiferi." Cf. W. Friedenburg, "Ein Rotulus Familiae Papst Leos X," in *Quellen and Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, VI, (1904) 53-57.

similar rule to govern the expedition of letters gratis is to be found on page 68. C. *Cedulae* making appointments to vacant episcopal sees.[29]

Six documents written on paper and (with one exception) sealed with the anulus piscatoris. Four are signed by papal secretaries (one by Bembo, three by Sadoleto), three bear a notation of papal approval in the Pope's own hand, one is executed in the name of the Pope's vice chancellor, whose seal and signature it bears. Two have a second signature, probably of scribe or datary. Other notations of the chancery appear on the face or reverse of several of the documents.

Though the texts of all follow a single formula, considerable variations are noticeable in the expression as well as in details of the provisions. The documents bear no address, whether at the beginning of the text or on the reverse. Only one has a heading, consisting of the name and number of the Pope. The document begins in every case with the words, "Hodie in Consistorio nostro secreto (ut moris est) . . . providimus . . ." or ". . . S.R.E. Cardinalium consilio fecimus . . .," and closes with, "In quorum fidem pontificalem cedulam fieri fecimus annulo piscatoris signatam," followed by the datum with place, day, month and year. The shortest, which is also the most interesting, since it combines the signature of Bembo with hitherto unfixed details of the life of Marcus Musurus, will be given first and in full. The details of the appointments set forth in the others will be cited, along with any variations in content or form of the document. The texts of several run to considerably greater length than the Musurus cedula, especially those concerning the sees of Palermo and Cefalù which makes reservations of specified sums from their incomes.

5. 1516. 26 May. Rome, St. Peter's.[30] Appointment of Marcus Musurus[31]

[29] Though documents of this type must be numerous in collections of papal records, I have found no reference to them in the handbooks on papal diplomatics.

[30] From the Azzolini collection of Italian autographs. De Ricci (II, 1524) lists it as a document of Bembo written for Leo X, without indicating its nature or content.

[31] Marcus Musurus (c. 1470-1517), one of the Greeks who came to Italy during the Renaissance to teach their native tongue to Italian humanists, is best remembered for his association with Aldus Manutius. The Greek type adopted (unfortunately) by the latter for his project of printing the entire body of ancient Greek literature, was based on the handwriting of Musurus. A contribution which posterity has far more reason to appreciate, was the latter's work as editor, for he prepared six editiones principes, as well as some other volumes for the press of Aldus. It was the cardinal as a student of antiquity, not as an ecclesiastic, which recommended him to the notice of Pope Leo. By far the best account of Musurus will be found in E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique . . . XV-XVI siècles.* (Paris, 1885-1904. 4v.) I, cviii-cxxiv (the available docu-

to be Archbishop of Malvasia (Mononasiensis) in the Peloponnese and Bishop of Hierapetra (Gerapetrensis) in Crete, sees left vacant by the death, in Rome, of Andreas de Minutiis. Signed by Pietro Bembo; the seal of the anulus piscatoris is preserved; the contents are briefly indicated on the reverse in these words, "Cedula super expeditione Ecclesiarum Mononasiensis et Gerapetrensis pro Reverendo Domino Marco Musuro Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ familiari;" written on a sheet of paper (8½ by 11⅜ inches) having a floral watermark.[32]

Leo Papa X[s]

Hodie in Consistorio nostro Secreto (ut moris est) Mononasiensi et Gerapetrensi Ecclesijs, quæ Inuicem ad vitam bonæ memoriæ Andreæ de minutis Archiepiscopi Mononasiensis apostolica auctoritate unite, annexe, et incorporate erant, per obitum eiusdem andreæ Archiepiscopi qui illis præerat: et apud sedem apostolicam debitum naturæ persoluit vacantibus, De persona Dilecti filij Marcij Musurij clerici Cretensis familiaris et continui commensalis nostri nobis et fratribus nostris, ob suorum exigentiam meritorum accepta: de fratrum eorundem consilio apostolica auctoritate prouidimus. ipsumque Marcum in Archiepiscopum Mononasiensi et Gerapetrensi ecclesijs episcopum et Pastorem præfecimus: Secumque ut illis quoad uixerit, præesset dispensavimus: curam regimen et administrationem earundem Ecclesiarum sibi in spiritualibus et Temporalibus plenarie committendo. Simulque ut cum eisdem ecclesijs: etiam postquam munus consecrationis susceperit: omnem et quamlibet pensionem, super quibusvis fructibus, redditis, et prouentibus ecclesiasticis sibi assignatis liberam percipere posset indulximus. Absolutionem eundem Marcum a censuris ad effectum etc. In quorum fidem pontificalem cedulam fieri fecimus annulo piscatoris signatam. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die xxvj Maij MD.XVI Pontificatus nostri Anno quarto.

(Seal of the Anulus Piscatoris)

BEMBUS

This document supplies for the first time the exact date of the appointment of Musurus to the Archbishopric of Malvasia. There has been con-

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ments concerning him are reprinted in vols. I and II; see the index *s.v.* Musurus, II, 442).

The slip of the scribe's pen which caused him to write "Marcii" and "Musurii" may, perhaps, be explained as a carry-over from the "filii" which precedes those words. The surname does occur in several variations including "Musurius," but the "Marcius" can be only an error. The name is written correctly in the contents note on the reverse side of the document.

[32] Similar to no. 6443 in Briquet; cf. note 26 above.

siderable speculation on this point[33] because Paulus Jovius mistakenly placed it in 1517 and made Musurus succeed Manilius Rallo (who actually followed him) instead of Andreas de Minutiis.[34] The date has an important bearing on the relations of Musurus with Leo X in the matter of the latter's promotion of Greek studies and his foundation of an academy in Rome for that purpose. In this connection it is noteworthy that Musurus is here referred to both as "commensalis continuus" and as "familiaris" of the Pope. The document also answers the question whether Musurus had been appointed to the see of Hierapetra prior to his elevation as archbishop,[35] by showing that the two appointments were simultaneous.

6. 1513. 21 November. Rome, Apostolic Palace.[36] Appointment[37] of Julius [De Medicis],[38] Cardinal Deacon of S. Maria in Domnica and Archbishop of Florence, to the see of Albi (Albiensis) in France, left vacant by the death, in Rome, by its bishop, Robert,[39] Cardinal Presbyter

[33] The question is discussed and the evidence available hitherto is cited by Legrand, *op. cit.*, I, cxix; he placed the appointment sometime in 1516, though he could not give a more precise date. Nor was he clear as to the predecessor and successor to Musurus. Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 248 does have the several incumbents in the correct order but he lacks definite dates and miscalls Musurus "Musanus." Some error is obviously behind the passage cited in his footnote 1, alleging Andreas de Minutiis to have assisted at a papal Mass on Christmas 1516. Our document shows that he was dead in May of that year.

[34] In other ecclesiastical records I find this prelate referred to only by his first name, e.g. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova . . . collectio*, XXXII (Paris, 1902), col. 902, where he is listed among the archbishops attending the tenth session of the fifth Lateran Council (4 May 1515) as "Andreas Monembasiensis." But Sanuto gives his surname, as does our document (*I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, Venice, 1879-1903. 58v.; XXII, col. 340).

[35] Cf. Legrand, *loc. cit.*

[36] This document, along with nos. 7 and 10 below, is contained in a volume of manuscripts entitled "Reformation in England and Germany," which was acquired from J. Pearson & Co., London. De Ricci (II, 1588) omits the date entirely, and misreads the name of the bishopric as Albano in Italy, instead of Albi in France.

[37] The appointment is recorded in Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 101. In the *Regesta Leonis X*, I, 339 (nos. 5430-36) six documents concerning this appointment are abstracted, though not the Morgan cedula. The six include three briefs announcing the appointment to the chapter of the church at Albi, to its clergy, its people, and two commendations of the new appointee (to the King of France and the archbishop), as well as the record from the papal register.

[38] Giulio de' Medici, cousin of the Pope and subsequently Pope Clement VII. His career as cardinal is briefly outlined by Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 14, no. 2, and Migne, *Dict.*, col. 684 ff.

[39] Robert De Britto, known also by the surnames De Guibé and Challant; cf. Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 10 and Migne, *Dict.*, col. 1064.

of S. Anastasia. This document has a different closing formula from the others, calling for signature of the Pope himself, "In cuius fidem hanc pontificalem cedulam quam manu nostra propria subscripsimus fieri ac anuli piscatoris impressione muniri fecimus." The Pope's approval, "Ita est I [oannes]", is written below the last line of the text, close to the left-hand margin. The document is dated "Rome, In palatio apostolico," instead of the more usual "Apud S. Petrum;" the year of the Incarnation is not given, only that of the current pontificate, "Anno primo." The seal has been lost, except for a piece of the red wax still clinging to the paper. Text and seal are confined to the upper half of a large sheet of paper (14½ by 11½ inches) having a siren watermark (cf. note 26 above).

7. 1518. 8 February. Rome, St. Peter's.[40] Appointment[41] of Thomas [Cajetanus de Vio],[42] Cardinal Presbyter of St. Sixtus, to the see of Palermo (Panormitana) left vacant by the death, in Rome, of its bishop, Francesco [Remolini], Bishop of Albano. From the income of the see of Palermo an annual pension of 1300 gold ducats ("ducati aurie de camera") is reserved for Dominicus [de Jacobatiis],[43] Cardinal Presbyter of St. Bartholomew "In Insula."

The document is signed by the papal secretary "Ia. Sadoletus," and countersigned in the hand of the Pope, who has written "Ita est I [oannes]" below the text near the left-hand margin. He also ran his pen through parts of two lines of the text and wrote in, following the last line, the phrases to be substituted. The seal is preserved. There is no signature of scribe or other functionary, but the "Ita est" is repeated in the hand of the text, at the bottom of the sheet. Written on the upper half of a large sheet of paper (17 by 11¾ inches) with a flower watermark (see note 32 above).

8. 1518. 3 September. Rome, Apostolic Palace.[44] Appointment[45] of Johannes Bonaventura de Valderama of the Order of Fratres Minores Conventuales to the See of Sardia in Albania (Sardensis) situated "in

[40] Contained in the volume "Reformation in England and Germany," cf. note 36 above. De Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, 1588 is in error in giving the date as February 3.

[41] The appointment is recorded in Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 268.

[42] An Italian from the Kingdom of Naples, Procurator-General of the Dominican Order, elevated to the purple by Leo X in 1517; died 1534; cf. Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 16, no. 27; Migne, *Dict.*, col. 1621f.

[43] A Roman, made cardinal by Leo X in 1517, previously Bishop of Lucera (Naples); died 1528; cf. Eubel, *op. cit.* III, 16, no. 19; Migne, *Dict., col.* 1099.

[44] From a collection of autographs of the Popes acquired from J. Pearson & Co., London. De Ricci (II, 1545) incorrectly lists as a document of Clement VII.

[45] The appointment is recorded in Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 292.

partibus infidelium," left vacant by the death, outside the Holy See, of its bishop, Dominicus Garsie.

This document differs from the other five cedulae in that it is written in the name of, and signed and sealed by the Pope's vice chancellor, whose rather complicated monogram serves as its heading. The text is adapted to the third person and begins, "Hodie . . . Leo providentia Papa X in suo consistorio secreto . . . auctoritate apostolica providit . . ." The closing phrase runs, "In quorum fidem pontificales litteras nostra propria manu subscriptas nostrique parvi sigilli impressione munitas fieri et tradi mandavimus." The datum, written in a different hand and ink from the body of the text, gives place, day and month, and the year of the Nativity and that of the current pontificate (anno sexto). The same hand has written an additional clause—the absolution—to be inserted in the text, and has signed this addition with his name, "Ia. Picenardus." He signed the document again in the lower right-hand corner, just as he did document no. 10 below. He appears then to be the datary.

The signature of the cardinal vice chancellor is the same as on document no. 9 which he signed in the name of the Pope, "Iu [lius] Vicecancell." His "little seal" bears the stemma of the Medici and is impressed into the paper rather than applied with wax.

In the lower left hand corner the name of the see is repeated, along with the date, and an indication of the tax paid (xxxviiii).[46] A large "R" in the upper left signifies entry in the papal register, concerning which there is a fuller note on the reverse. The document is written on half a large sheet of paper (17 by 11½ inches) having a paschal lamb watermark (similar to Briquet no. 47, cf. note 26 above), which was folded double before the seal was impressed.

9. 1518. 22 October (Friday). Corneto.[47] Appointment[48] of Guilelmus Raymundus [de Vich],[49] Cardinal Presbyter of St. Marcellus, to the see of Cefalù (Cephaludensis) in Sicily, left vacant by the death, in Rome, of its Bishop, Joannes [Sanchez]. From the income of the see of Cefalù,

[46] For a discussion of the practice of the chancery requiring a fee for most letters, cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.*, I, 329-346.

[47] From an extra-illustrated edition of Henri Bouchot, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris, 1899). De Ricci (II, 1624) cites simply as a signed document of Sadoletus, with date.

[48] The appointment is recorded in Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 163.

[49] A Spaniard, created cardinal by Leo X in 1517, subsequently Bishop of Barcelona; died in 1525; see Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 17, no. 30, and Migne, *Dict.*, col. 1614.

an annual pension of 800 gold ducats is reserved for Dominicus [De Jacobatiis],[50] Cardinal Presbyter of St. Bartholomew "In Insula."

In this document the datum, giving place, day of the week as well as of the month, the month, and the year of the Incarnation and that of the current pontificate, is written in a different hand from the text. Signed "Ia. Sadoletus," and, below, by the Pope's vice chancellor and head of the chancery: "Iu [lius] Vicecancell [arius]". The seal has been lost, but bits of the red wax remain on the paper. On the reverse are faint traces of a line and a half of script, apparently summarizing the contents of the document. Written on a sheet of paper (11¼ by 8½ inches) having no watermark.

10. 1520. 14 May. Rome, St. Peter's.[51]. Appointment[52] of Pompeius [Colonna],[53] Cardinal Presbyter of the Basilica of the XII Apostles, to the see of Terni, (Interamnensis), left vacant by the death, outside of Rome, of its Bishop, Aloisius [Ludovicus de Apra].

The date, written in a different hand from that of the text, gives day and month, and the year of the current pontificate (anno octavo) only. Signed "Ia. Sadoletus," and countersigned by the Pope whose "Ita est I [oannes]" is written below the last line of the text close to the left-hand margin. The seal is preserved. Another signature is to be found near the right-hand edge, "Ia. Picenardus" (cf. document 8 above). Below, and on the opposite side, the "Ita est" is repeated along with a few other words, now illegible. Written on the upper half of a large sheet of paper (16¾ by 11¼ inches) with a siren watermark (cf. note 26 above).

[50] Cf. letter no. 7 above, in which the same prelate receives a still larger annual allotment from the see of Palermo.

[51] Contained in the volume "Reformation in England and Germany"; cf. note 36 above. De Ricci (II, 1588) incorrectly gives the date as May 14, 1521.

[52] The appointment is recorded in Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 213 from the Acta Consistorialia, with the correct date (not March 14 as in Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 730).

[53] On the stormy career of Pompeo Colonna as cardinal, cf. Migne, *Dict.*, col. 698f. and Eubel, *op. cit.*, III, 15, no. 18.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL HISTORY

Work and History. By Paul Schrecker. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. xviii, 322. $5.00.)

The sub-title of this work, "An essay on the structure of civilization," will convey something of the purpose of the author, the analysis of the essence of the historical process, a study of the common structural unity of all history. As such, it belongs within the scope of the philosophy of history; it is an earnest and well-reasoned work that attempts to apply a new and scientific method to history, the phenomenological method of analysis. Opposed, therefore, to any *apriori* theories of history of a monistic dogmatism, Hegelian or Marxian, it is equally opposed to any dualism that would distinguish civilization and nature, nature and grace, the natural man and man in the image of God, and it attempts to elaborate a theory of history that is purely natural and independent of revealed truth.

The problem, as the author views it, is this: since an achievement is a science owing to a certain method and nothing else, there must be a norm of scientific method which the sciences of nature and of history must both obey, although each in its particular way. This fundamental norm is precisely the method of reducing reality to elements and their formal relations; the particular specification of this method by the historical sciences is thus one of the main problems of the book.

Beginning with an analysis of the object of history, the material on which the theory and philosophy of history must work, the author shows that those human actions alone are relevant as potential elements of history which make or change history; and these he aptly terms "work." This technical term is taken as a force in action that effects a change in civilization, is required by a norm of one or several provinces of civilization, and is intended to achieve some improvement in the object of the work. This, in turn, furnishes the key-concept of the book, that in each province of history and civilization—state, law, science, religion, art, economy, and language, the elements of change and progress are "acts of human work;" each province reveals an identical formal structure as the integration of the results of human work. These same acts of work likewise effect the correlation and interaction of the several provinces. Finally, work specifies a particular civilization. Civilizations are typed by the primacy of one province over the other; but this primacy itself is established by the type of work, religious, political, economic, etc., that holds the ascendency in that epoch. Thus all the various divisions of civilization

and movements of history must be considered as variations and specifications of a single potential unity, human work.

Much can be gained from reading this work in a critical spirit. There is much to be said for the author's analysis, though a scholastic has cause to wonder if it is fundamentally so new after all. It fails to rise above by merely human, nor does it intend to do so; and to that extent it is naturalistic and may even appear godless. Throughout, the term nature is taken as contrasted, not to will, but to grace; and any supernatural influence on history is considered as reducing history to a sphere of reality determined by divine grace and consisting in the mere actualization of the pre-ordained decrees of divine Providence!

IGNATIUS BRADY

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The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1550. By Robert S. Chamberlain. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1948. Pp. vi, 365. $4.75, paper; $5.50, cloth.)

After reading this volume and noting both the numerous references to primary sources, manuscript and printed, and the exhaustive bibliography one feels that the story it tells need never again be told. Its author has left no stone unturned to get at the truth, while in point of objective interpretation his volume might well serve as a specimen of sound and untrammeled scholarship. This may be according high praise; but the reviewer thinks that Mr. Chamberlain deserves it together with a vote of thanks for having given us this excellent study.

The volume is divided into four sections. Of these, the first three cover the three phases of the conquest, while the fourth deals with the early development of Yucatan as a Spanish colony. The appended bibliography (pp. 347-365) has a long list of original source materials, seven pages of which present the manuscripts consulted by the author in seventeen archives—seven of them in Spain, five in Mexico, two in the United States, and one each in Guatemala, Yucatan, and England. In addition to a number of interesting photographs, there are two well-drawn charts that are of real service to one who wishes to follow more closely the military aspects of the conquest.

The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan will hold the attention of the lay reader as well as of the teacher and student of history. The subjugation of the formidable Mayas, with which it deals, constitutes a thrilling chapter in the history of Spain in America, and in the telling of it this feature of the conquest is not weakened by the fact that Mr. Chamberlain is eminently critical in approach and presentation. The same

is true of the fourth section of the volume where the reader is told how Spain from the start took steps to convert Yucatan and its people into a well regulated Christian commonwealth.

As it stands, the fruit of serious and painstaking researches, this volume is but another link in the ever-lengthening chain of solid evidence demonstrating that the "Black Legend" has lost its hold where unbiased scholarship prevails. As the documents reveal, the Montejos themselves, who engineered the conquest and seconded the work of colonization together with their leading military aids, were not riotous adventurers, unscrupulous ruffians, selfish seekers of gold, and cold-blooded tyrants. On the contrary, to them applies for the most part what the author says of the elder Montejo:

> Montejo was a strange mixture of characteristics. He could fight implacably, or he could negotiate. He could be stern toward the people he was fighting, and he could also be magnanimous. One cannot but feel that had he at times been less trusting and less forgiving, his conquests would have gone better. Montejo was far from ruthless (p. 5).

It was again these leaders of the conquest who made it possible that, to quote the author, "the Franciscans achieved remarkable success" (p. 322) in their labors for the spiritual welfare of the Mayas. In turn, these beneficent efforts, as the author points out, were generously supported, not only by the Spanish crown but also by the authorities in Yucatan, civil as well as ecclesiastical, and by many of the colonists who "did not by any means permit the beneficent intent of the Crown to remain wholly a theory" (p. 338). If abuses occurred in Yucatan as they did elsewhere during the Spanish conquest, they were the crimes of a misguided minority, and least of all the sanctioned policy of the home government in Spain.

Needless to add, the reviewer recommends most heartily this excellent study to teachers and students of Spanish American history.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Religious Orders in England. By Dom David Knowles. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1948. Pp. xvi, 348. $8.50.)

Eight years ago Dom Knowles published his magisterial history of English monasticism between 943 and 1216. Since then several special studies have appeared from his pen preparing the way for this new volume, while a third is still to be written to complete the story down to the dissolution. The dividing line between the second and third volumes has been placed in the neighborhood of 1340; but since the character of the sources makes the treatment of material often topical rather than chrono-

logical, we are warned that some topics omitted from this volume will find a place in the next. Therefore, reviewers must be discreet in complaining of omissions.

It may be said at once that this new volume maintains the high level of its predecessor, the same scholarship, the same distinguished style, the same mature understanding and synthesis. Yet as the author warns us, there are differences. The monasteries are no longer the leading force in western society, and they have lost something of their spiritual vigor. There is a change, too, in the nature of our sources for study; there is a lack of full chronicles throwing light on the internal life of monasteries, a lack also of biographies of leading figures, and of personal correspondence. In their place there is an abundance of account books, visitation records, and other official documents.

These facts are reflected in Knowles' new volume. Nearly half the pages are devoted to the new mendicant orders. These chapters are among the most valuable in the book, and at the same time to this reviewer they are disappointing. There is a good analysis of the character and ideals of St. Francis and of the Dominican constitution. The internal party struggles of the Minors are well summarized. Most important are the chapters devoted to the scholastic work of the friars at the universities, a difficult field which has not before been brought into its place in English church history. Yet the very fulness with which controversies and studies are developed seems to overbalance the more ordinary religious and popular work of the majority of the friars. No doubt satisfactory source material is meager. Yet there is the sermon literature which Professor Owst has been bringing to the attention of scholars; and there is the suggestive fact that friars were repeatedly active in political agitation, whether in the interest of rebels like Richard Marshall, Simon de Montfort, and Thomas of Lancaster or of the deposed and murdered Edward II and Richard II.

Among the older orders it is naturally the Benedictines who are nearest the author's heart and receive the fullest treatment. Chapters are devoted to the new system of provincial chapters, visitations, economic administration, to monastic boroughs, the status of the abbot, changes in the daily life of the monks, and the culture of the monks. Cistercians are comparatively slighted; there is a good chapter on their agrarian economy, but apart from that only a brief statement that their houses at this period lacked distinction—a defect by no means limited to the white monks. Carthusians and Premonstratensians are postponed to the final volume. Perhaps, vernacular writers of the early period like the Benedictine Michael of Northgate and the Gilbertine Robert Mannyng of Brunne will also be included there, in the company of the later Augustinian Walter Hilton and Benedictine John Lydgate. It may be that a larger though judicious use of popular literature would save the treatment of religious

life in these later centuries from being too strongly institutional. The author urges the need of much more research into the history of individual houses, some of which have left extensive if unexciting records. It is also possible that a fuller use of secular material would yield more than expected; it has recently been shown that a good deal can be done for the Welsh Cistercians from the various series of government rolls. Wills and municipal records may also broaden our knowledge of the later period. And cannot considerably more be gleaned from surviving manuscripts? N. R. Ker has published a list of some 4000 which can be traced back to a religious house in mediaeval England. Each MS. copied indicates the existence of an interest, and implies attentive reading by the copyist at least. Besides this we have many booklists made by mediaeval librarians. An unusual one of interest in connection with this volume is a "Registrum librorum Angliae." It is said to have been drawn up in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably by a Franciscan, and contains a selection of books from about 160 libraries in England and Scotland; it has been suggested that it was drawn up for the benefit of friars on preaching tours through the country. A century later John Boston of Bury made a revised and much enlarged edition of it which might be called the ancestor of "union catalogues."

This is not to criticize Professor Knowles' book, which is not meant to be a series of monographs turning new ground but a broad synthesis and interpretation of what piecemeal knowledge is now available. He is doing admirable work in bringing late mediaeval religious history into order. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were more complex than the tenth and eleventh, with interests that are both more diversified and more highly developed, so that it becomes increasingly impossible for a single scholar to be himself the master of all details. Therefore, it is only to be expected that in some sections the author gives the impression of relying upon the work of other scholars rather than of being himself familiar with the sources as he had always been in the first volume.

In a few cases the material is not thoroughly organized; thus the problem of meat-eating by Benedictines is handled twice over (pp. 17-21, 281-283). Neither passage is mentioned in the index which contains little more than proper names, a real misfortune in a great book such as this.

CARLETON M. SAGE

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Studi Gregoriani. Per la storia di Gregorio VII e della riforma Gregoriana. 2 volumes. Raccolta da G. B. Borino. (Roma: Abbazia di San Paolo di Roma. 1947. Pp. xiv, 540; 530. $10.00 per volume.)

In 1047 Pope Gregory VI was brought as a prisoner into Germany by the Emperor Henry III, who had deposed him a short time before and

placed his own candidate on the papal throne. Among the few who remained loyal to and shared the ex-pontiff's exile was a young chaplain named Hildebrand. This is the first recorded event in his career and undoubtedly exerted a tremendous influence upon him. From that moment until his death thirty-eight years later his only aim and ambition was to free the Church from the evil consequences of lay domination that were so strikingly manifested in the arbitrary action of the ruler of Germany and the humiliation and disgrace of Gregory VI.

Father John Borino, a Salesian priest attached to the staff of the Vatican Library, decided that the year 1947, the ninth centenary of Gregory VII's first appearance on the pages of history, should not go unnoticed. He felt that a study of the personality of the great pontiff and of the "'Reform" named after him would be singularly appropriate. Among the contributors whom he secured are some of the leading authorities in mediaeval history, such as A. Michel, G. Bardy, A. Fliche, F. Pelster, and H. Arquillière. The United States is represented by Professor Stephan Kuttner of the School of Canon Law of the Catholic University of America, Owen Blum O.F.M., of Quincy College, the author of a recent study on St. Peter Damian, and the late Demetrius B. Zema S.J., of Fordham University. The Benedictines of St. Paul's community in Rome agreed to publish the studies out of love and veneration for Gregory VII who had once lived in and governed their monastery.

Studi Gregoriani is truly a monumental work. It consists of two volumes and 1065 pages of text. There are forty-eight articles: seventeen in Italian, seventeen in German, nine in French, four in English, and one in Spanish. They are not arranged systematically according to the subject-matter but were printed in the order of their arrival in Rome. Naturally the authors have discussed a great variety of topics. A few have concentrated on the study of Gregory's family, his literary ability, his relationship with and indebtedness to important personages of his day, such as Pope Gregory VI, Cardinal Humbert, Desiderius of Monte Cassino, and the Countess Mathilda. Some have analyzed his attitude towards the Eastern Church, and the effects of the investiture struggle in specific countries, dioceses, or monasteries. Others have paid more attention to the canonical effects of his legislation and his political theory.

The writers, of course, have not settled all the problems about Gregory VII's character, policy, and influence, but at least they have lightened the task of his future biographers by the facts which they have unearthed and carefully evaluated. For example, here are some of the questions which they have raised and answered in these pages. Was Gregory VII an innovator when he enacted laws against lay investiture, simony, and clerical incontinence, or was he, as he claimed, merely repeating ancient ecclesiastical prohibitions that had fallen into desuetude? To what extent

did he make use of the 'False Decretals'? What was the precise purpose of his famous 'Dictatus'? By what right did he depose Henry IV of Germany? Did his measures for the reform of the Church aid or hinder the development of European unity?

It is, indeed, a pleasure to see the representatives of nations that only a few years ago were engaged in a bitter struggle, collaborating in a literary monument worthy of the pope to whom it is dedicated. These 'Gregorian studies' are a proof that genuine scholarship is still flourishing in Europe in spite of the long drawn-out war, the economic difficulties, and the political and social unrest of the past decade. Although this work was written originally for the centenary year of 1947 it is even more appropriate in 1949 when a concerted attack is under way in many countries to destroy the liberty of the Church and to imprison her leaders. What more encouraging figure can we find than Gregory VII who, 900 years ago, fought for this same cause and whose principles ultimately triumphed even though he died as an exile?

St. Clement's Mission House STEPHEN MCKENNA
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Philosophie et théologie chez Guillaume d'Ockham. By Robert Guelluy. [Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in facultate theologica vel in facultate iuris canonici consequendum conscriptae. Series II—Tomus 39] (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts; Paris, J. Vrin. 1947. Pp. xxiv, 383. 190 frs.)

Father Guelluy has based his masterly account of Ockham's teaching concerning the relation between theology and philosophy, faith and reason, on a painstaking analysis of Ockham's prologue to the *Commentary on the Sentences.* For this reason the reading is quite difficult. On the whole, however, and despite certain questionable minor parts, the work is sound. Father Guelluy certainly does honor to the high standard of historical research at his alma mater, not only because of the thoroughness of his work, but mainly because of the objectivity of his study. The University of Louvain has always resisted Ockhamism and cherished Thomism. Yet Guelluy's work shows that a good thomist can be just and objective in historical matters concerning Ockham. The author has shown common sense—which is by no means commonly encountered—in taking for granted that Ockham really meant what he expressed in his works. Hence the author of this study is not suffering under the ridiculous urge to tell us what Okham ought to have said according to certain prejudices.

We hope that at least the principal conclusions of Father Guelluy's scholarly efforts will be noted and accepted by historians of mediaeval

philosophy. These conclusions are: Ockham is a realist in the modern sense although not in the mediaeval meaning of the word (p. 363); he has not doubted the objective value of our conceptual order (p. 361); he has a metaphysics which is demanded by and in keeping with his logic (p. 356). Ockham is neither a fideist nor a rationalist; he does not separate or divorce the domain of theology from that of metaphysics and vice versa, but insists rather that a certain number of truths are common to both disciplines. Finally, Father Guelluy has been unable to discover in any of the texts which he has studied an opposition between faith and reason (p. 364). Hence the general conclusion: Ockham remains in the fold of scholastic theology and philosophy. If he refuses to admit that theology is a science, his denial is based on his ideal of a strict Aristotelian science, which is something different from "science" in the modern sense.

Though we cannot subscribe to every statement and every text analysis found in this excellent and serious work, nevertheless we believe that the author is right in characterizing Ockham's solution of the relation between faith and reason, theology and philosophy, as an attempt to apply the most rigorous rules of logic to theological problems. Ockham, perhaps the greatest logician of the Middle Ages, has shown the logical limits of speculative theology, and in this, according to the reviewer's opinion, he has prepared the road to our modern, less speculative and more positive theology.

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER

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The Inquisition at Albi, 1299-1300: Text of Register and Analysis. By Georgene Webber Davis. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 322. $4.00.)

In the study of the Inquisition as it functioned during the latter part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century we find a wealth of general treatises but too few monographs. Studies comparable to Michel de Dmitrewski's "Fr. Bernard Délicieux, O.F.M. Sa lutte contre l'inquisition de Carcassonne et d'Albi. Son procès, 1297-1319," *Archivum Franciscum Historicum,* Volumes XVII-XVIII, have long been a desideratum. In Georgene Davis' book we have another contribution to this type of specialized research.

The author has made available for students a manuscript containing thirty-five depositions of the inquisitorial process at Albi in 1299-1303 from a photostatic copy in possession of Columbia University of *ms. latin* 11847 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Three appendices are added which facilitate the reading and understanding of the text. The first is a compilation

of historical notes on the characters in the trial. This acquaints the reader with the background of the accused and takes them out of the realm of mere names. In Appendix II there is a summary of the court proceedings. Appendix III gives an alphabetical list and identification of the place names mentioned in the text.

The analysis of the text is clear, thorough, and logical. Since the manuscript from which Miss Davis drew her conclusions was not the verbatim records taken down by a notary or scribe in court, but the final record prepared for the permanent archives and, therefore, incomplete, some points of her analysis must remain as conjecture. However, the evidence given in the text is sufficient to correct several misinterpretations given by Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,* (II, 71) and Jean Marie Vidal, *Bullaire de l'inquisition française au XIV siecle et jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme* (p. 5). In these works Lea and Vidal, intimating that the trial was unjust, state that the condemned were orthodox Catholics and that torture was "ruthlessly and unsparingly used." Davis concludes on the contrary in sound analysis that there is no evidence for the reputed orthodoxy of the accused, and in fourteen cases, or at least half, there is some reason to suspect heretical leanings in the family in the course of the preceding century (p. 24). Arguing well from the text she also shows that there is scarcely any evidence to bear out the description of torture ruthlessly and unsparingly employed (p. 36).

The process at Albi and the popular reaction consequent upon it was integrally connected with similar conflicts between the Inquisition and the citizens of Carcassone which took place intermittently over a period of twenty years. For this reason the author gives a detailed and well documented consideration of its history both as it happened before and after the trouble at Albi. In this more general treatment she uses secondary works but often goes to the sources and decides against the opinions of the more noted authorities on the Inquisition.

The book can be well recommended not only to students interested in the Inquisition but to all students of mediaeval and church history. The commentary is a real contribution to a better understanding of the Inquisition at Albi. The dogma and the rites of the Cathari are better understood when explained by the heretics themselves as is done in the text. However, the contribution of the text relative to the procedure followed in the inquisitorial courts is negligible since the trials at Albi conformed rather faithfully to that outlined in Bernard Gui's, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis.*

JEREMIAH J. SMITH

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La double expérience de Catherine Benincasa. By Robert Fawtier and Louis Canet. (Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 1948. Pp. 368. 550 frs.)

This is a very strange book. In the first part, M. Fawtier deals with the human aspects of the life of St. Catherine of Siena; in the second, M. Canet treats of the saint's natural gifts, the sources of her doctrine, and then proceeds to a systematic exposition of her teaching.

M. Fawtier had made the acquaintance of St. Catherine long ago. He had studied her life intermittently since 1911. His *Sainte Catherine de Sienne: essai de critique des sources* (2 vols., Paris, 1921-1930) provoked a veritable *Cateriniana* renaissance. In this work of great erudition, he prepared the way for a critical edition of the works of the saint, the first volume of the *Epistolario* of which appeared in Rome in 1940 under the care of Eugenio Dupré Theseider. But there were features of the critique that were not so constructive. M. Fawtier was primarily interested in the political role accredited to the saint by her biographers and church historians. He observed that his role had been exaggerated and, when placed in its setting, was not in conformity with the facts of history. And the cause? Fundamentally, a deliberate misrepresentation of the chronology of the saint's life. Following up this clue, and with the aid of his French spectacles, he unearthed a Dominican plot to enhance the prestige of the Sienese mystic as a means of: bolstering the Roman cause in the Great Schism of the West; of securing the approval of the ancient rule of the Third Order of St. Dominic to which St. Catherine belonged; and of creating a rival to St. Francis of Assisi. Therefore, the traditional sources, dependent for the most part upon the *Legenda* of Raymond of Capua, Catherine's confessor and first biographer, were unhistorical and unreliable; especially since a Dominican disciple of the saint, the archvillain Thomas Caffarini, made the *Legenda* the "canon" to which all else had to conform, even the testimony of the witnesses in the episcopal inquiry into the life and virtues of the saint. Consequently, he concluded that the life of St. Catherine should be written, not from the traditional biographical sources, but from her letters. They were found to be substantially authentic—all but one: the famous letter concerning the execution of Niccolò Toldo.

The violence and asperity of the attack naturally called forth criticism that was not all of a scholarly nature. However, there was a return to the sources; and there followed, until the recent war put an end to the work, the publication of seven volumes of the *Fontes vitae S. Catherinae historici* (Firenze, 1936-1942) and an avalanche of critical studies on various phases of the life and activity of the saint. The focal point of Fawtier's attack—the chronology—held firm all along the line. But the political activity of Catherine, long due for some modification, was the object of little or no defense. The traditional biographical sources, therefore, retain the full vigor and integrity of authentic mediaeval documents.

Unimpressed, and certainly not influenced by his critics, M. Fawtier now returns to the attack. In writing this life, he followed the recommendations he had made. But aside from the recently published *Fontes* and the *Epistolario,* he almost wholly ignored the researches his earlier labors had provoked. He clings too tenaciously to his original views, though he has mellowed with the years, or, perhaps, the change in tone is simply due to the positive character of the present work, whereas his critique had been negative in approach. At any rate, Fawtier appears to have the utmost admiration and veneration for St. Catherine, and he has succeeded in keeping his dislike for Raymond of Capua and his positive hatred for Thomas Caffarini quite out of the picture. However, there is little new concerning St. Catherine in this his latest work, except that she is presented as the unwitting and impractical tool of papal politicians and political schemers, and that she did after all write the Toldo letter. It should be noted, however, that the erudite historian is not a hagiographer. Consequently he has not drawn an authentic portrait of Catherine. He has not caught her spirit; he judges things of the spirit by purely mundane standards. Perhaps, that is why he left it to another to deal with the spiritual aspects of her life.

Since M. Canet's part in the work is almost wholly theological, notice will be taken of his researches in an early issue of *The Thomist.*

The reader of this book may well wonder why it was ever written. The insistence upon a cause that has already been judged appears to be futile, unless new evidence is submitted. And the evidence has not been presented. The discovery, however, that there is not in St. Catherine "un mot, je dis un seul mot, qui décèle une influence spécifiquement thomiste," and that her teachings represent a "négation absolue de toute prédestination," may be significant!

JAMES B. WALKER

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The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities. By Pearl Kibre. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1948. Pp. xi, 240. $5.00; to members of the Academy, $4.00.)

Miss Kibre's excellent book presents a well documented history of the "nations," the term assigned to the "corporation or association of masters, teaching . . . all the arts, inscribed in the same roll, and living under the same laws, ordinances, and chiefs" (p. 3). The nations soon became an association of masters and scholars, mostly foreigners or natives but usually living outside of the university center. Every nation had its own officers: proctor, receptor, beadle, etc., and its own statutes. The evolution

of the nations and the self-government of the students in Bologna were different from that of Paris. The latter was divided into four nations: French, Picard, Norman, and English-German, while the former had two: ultramontane nations, i.e., students from outside Italy, and cismontane nations, the native Italian students.

Miss Kibre's volume gives the history of the evolution of the nations; at the same time, it offers a comparative study pointing out the type of nation that each university reflected in its statutes. It also shows the differences which existed between the universities in their self-government—whether they were governed by the body of students or by the body of masters. The unversities which emphasized the legal studies followed the Bologna tradition, whereas those of northern Europe preferred the Parisian system. Oxford was divided into two nations: Boreales, the northerners who were made up partly of Scotch students, and Australes, which contained some Irish and Welsh scholars. Cambridge reproduced the most important features of Oxford. Paris provided the model for Prague, founded in 1347-8, Vienna (1365) and Pécs, Hungary (1367). Vienna comprised four nations: Austria, Bohemia, Saxony, and Hungary. While in Heidelberg, which was the first university to open in Germany (1385), the nation system seems to have been abandoned. In Leipzig (1409), we can find the Parisian model. The students of the University of St. Andrews (1411) were divided into Albany, Angus, Lothian, and Britain, while Glasgow (1450-51) was modeled after that of Bologna. It had four national districts: Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Alban, and Rothesay; that of Aberdeen (1494) was divided into Mar, Buchan, Moray, and Angus.

It would have been interesting to examine such a type as the University of Cracow (1364) where we cannot find a clear allusion to the nations, but the number of foreign students was very high. Cracow drew students from Silesia and Hungary. For example, between 1493 and 1506, eighteen percent of the students were Hungarians, [cf. K. Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis* (Budapest, 1893) p. xvi]. It was a strict regulation for them to live together. It would have been helpful to make clear also the relation of the College of Sorbonne to the nations. The Sorbonne originally was founded for sixteen students of theology—four from each nation. In this matter, the original register of the priors of the Sorbonne, (Paris B. N. Ms. Lat. 5494/a) has an important significance.

Miss Kibre is one of those rare American scholars who is very well acquainted with European manuscript material, having worked for many years in every great library in Europe. Therefore, one would like to have found a listing of the more important manuscript sources about the nations. Perhaps, for some technical reason, she was prevented from

giving such a list. The English nation, for instance, is the most fortunate because all their official books and records have been preserved *Cartulaire de l'université à l'usage de la nation d'Angleterre* 1200-1355, XIVth. c. Sorbonne, Arch, Reg. 100; *Liber parvus nationis,* the famous Red Book of the English Nation, 1348, Sorbonne, Arch, Reg. 3; *Liber nationis pergamineus* ordered in 1356, B. N. N. a. 1. 535; *Conclusions de la nation d'Angleterre,* 1332- . . . 1492. Sorbonne, Arch. Reg. 2-8; *Liber receptoris,* Archives Nationales de Paris, H. 2587, H³. 2588. These documents have many colorful miniatures; some of them have been reproduced in Boyce's outstanding book, *The English-German Nation,* (Bruges, 1927). The manuscript sources of the nations present a rich documentation on student life, e.g., the Picard Nation: Sorbonne Arch. Reg. 11. fol. 10; French Nation: B. N. Ms. Lat. 2060, fol. 9; fol. 55. A curious miniature in the B. N. Ms. Français 2813 fol. 475 pictures for us the masters of the English nation before the Emperor Charles V.

The recent publications of the documents on the English-German nation, Auct. III, Picard Auct. IV., French Auct. V., are due to Mrs. Ch. Samaran and E. Van Moé. It is useful to point out that some documents concerning the English-German nation are unpublished, e.g., *Liber receptoris,* 1494-1530, *Conclusions de la nation d'Allemagne,* 1521-1552, etc. Microfilms of these manuscripts are now in the library of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame.

The *Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* is written in a clear and sober style with a well furnished bibliographical documentation and a very useful index. Miss Kibre's book constitutes a splendid chapter in the literature of the history of the universities.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell'economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII secolo. By Mario Romani. [Edizioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Serie Pubblicazioni, Vol. XXV.] (Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero." 1948. Pp. xv, 351. Lire 1200.)

With this scholarly and interesting study on pilgrims and travellers in Rome and on their effect on Roman economy from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, Romani has made a significant contribution to the economic, religious, and social life of the Eternal City during a highly important period of papal history. Although there is considerable information that will interest the intelligent reader, the work is essentially for specialists and scholars in mediaeval economic, social, religious, and

political history. These will find a wealth of material and details on a hitherto unexplored subject.

Besides a documentary appendix and an index of authors cited in the text (both comprising about ninety pages), the study is divided into five chapters: 1) The voyage to Rome and the policies of the pontiffs; 2) the hotel industry of Rome; 3) regulations affecting the hotel industry; 4) places of shelter for strangers, including the work of charitable organizations and of the Roman confraternities, especially that of SS Trinità dei Pellegrini; 5) pilgrims, travellers, and special aspects of Roman economic life in mediaeval and modern times.

Pilgrims and travellers were attracted to Rome in large numbers, especially during jubilee celebrations, by their faith and by a spirit of sacrifice. In normal times Romani believes that about 30,000 persons visited Rome each year. There were those who visited the city to see and to study the ruins of pagan Rome; others went there to profit by a sojourn in the city which "gathered all the most beautiful and elevated talents of the period." Romani delves deeply to study the effects of that continuous influx of travellers on Roman economy, with particular reference to the places of shelter which more directly affected the economic structure of this great traffic center. Essentially the work deals with the economic, political, and charitable problems of the hotels and places of shelter.

Romani examines in detail the factors that were responsible for the flow of travellers to Rome, the policies of the popes, and the regulations that were enacted to encourage people to visit the city even under the most trying conditions. The author also analyzes the important economic and social consequences that stemmed from the incoming of travellers to Rome, including problems relating to food supplies, road construction and maintenance, public health, and safety.

Romani has made wide use of available printed material on the subject: chronicles, diaries, short stories, comedies, contemporary accounts of the jubilee years, logs of journeys, reports of ambassadors (especially those from Venice and Lucca to the court of Rome), guide books and maps of the city of Rome, obituaries, the records of the confraternities, the texts of papal bulls, briefs, and pronouncements, numismatic documents, and city and tax regulations. The author has also drawn from the two descriptions of Rome during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, respectively prepared by Armellini and Gnoli.

The bulk of the work, however, is based on unpublished sources which include: 1) hotel registers of the seventeenth century; 2) the constitutions of the arts connected with the hotel industry; 3) numerous proclamations and edicts concerning the city of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; 4) the well-known collection of official annals of proclamations and other measures published under the aegis of the commune of Rome; 5) papers preserved

in the Archives of the Archconfraternity of the SS Trinità dei Pellegrini. The appendix contains the full texts of important documents including the constitutions of the four major corporations connected with the hotel industry of Rome.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

Columbia University

James II. By F. C. Turner. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1948. Pp. vii, 544. $5.00.)

The Stuart family have enlivened British history with variety and controversy. To older Whig historians they were so providentially tyrannical and unwise that they acted as forcing agents of British liberty. The familiar history of the line begins with the legendary Mary and ends with the domestic figure of Anne and with the Young Cavalier. Mary Stuart so bewitched men with love and hate that the library of Mary Stuart literature is largely a useless and forbidding swamp. Her none-too-dutiful son, James, acquired the tangled heritage of Elizabethan problems, and was saved from the consequences of his own pedantic erudition by his indolence and unheroic shrewdness. Charles, his son, was a finer character and a more disastrous ruler, who curiously combined devotion to principles with ineffective political duplicity. His death added further magic to monarchy, which was restored to secure English property and privilege. Charles II, a beneficiary of the reaction against Puritanism, weathered difficult years by means of laziness, a genuine but insufficiently used shrewdness, and a deep-grained skepticism in an age of simple and fierce religious passions. Charles, a pleasant man who was capable of being a gracious king, found life too dull to be worth devoting all of his energies to government. But upon his death he left a momentarily strong monarchy to James his brother. The new king may be described in seventeenth-century terms as "The Character of an Inept King." Unlike his brother, he tried hard to do some good things. But he rarely acted with political sense. On page 93 Turner lists a considerable number of occasions on which James took issue with the policies of Charles. In nearly every case James' stand would have dangerously stirred the clamor against the king. James, as Turner well puts it, always chose the line of greatest resistance and identified the political art of compromise with weakness. It required the special series of Jacobean blunders, adventurer counsellors, and the two witless flights of James to make a "glorious" and bloodless revolution.

Turner's book is well and soberly done and is a useful addition to English history. It is, as a rule, solidly documented although I found a number of passages for which there appeared to be no authority cited. The author

approaches James with no apparent hostility. He makes the original point that James suffered a breakdown after the revolution and that thereafter James exhibits all the symptoms of advanced senility. This explanation, inadequately worked out by the author who elsewhere reveals little knowledge of James' medical history, is wryly amusing, for James appears in his most attractive light during the period of his exile. He was without rancor and seemed to be happy with his lot. Turner suggests that previously James had been imperturbable, not as a matter of virtue but "in accordance with his obstinate, stupid, sluggish and withal sanguine nature." Madame de Sévigné made the most crushing of all comments on the king in his exile: "When one listens to him, one realizes why he is here."

M. A. FITZSIMONS

University of Notre Dame

A History of the English People, 1841-1852. By Elie Halevy. Translated from the French by E. I. Watkin. (New York: Peter Smith. 1948. Pp. xi, 374. $6.00.)

This volume—the sixth to be written, though the fourth in point of chronological place in the well-known history of the English people since 1815—the French writer intended to publish in 1938. By 1937, when he suddenly died, enough text had been completed, and enough notes collected and arranged, for Mme. Halevy to commit to Paul Vaucher, long the collaborator of Halevy and an expert commentator on England, the tricky problem of tying up the consecutive script with the loose, sometimes only suggestive, notes which Halevy had compiled.

Frenchmen of the extreme left, living by the ethic of 1789, believing in the beneficence of recurrent or continuing revolution, would have found, in the technique of agitation perfected by the mid-nineteenth-century radical movement in England and Ireland, something of profound moment for the future of democratic practice, an exceptionally effective mode of bringing public opinion up and down the country to the point where surrenders of principle could be extorted from the government, even though the supporters of the government continued, in London, by and large unconverted to the new doctrine, hostile to its purpose, even unconvinced of its expediency. Halevy and the group of French observers of England which he typified knew how much more effective for true progress were the movements, springing from unrest throughout the English countryside and urban slums between 1780 and 1850 than the popular upsurges of France or Germany before 1870. The general election of 1841, though the formal contest lay between the Whig or Liberal Party and the newly reformed Tory Party, appeared to the electorate more like the decisive battle between "the League" and "the Charter." And in the next election

in 1847 the protection-or-free trade pattern overlay and submerged the ordinary, nominal, two party scheme. An unconsummated rapprochement between some followers of "the League" and the men of "the Charter" impressed the country more importantly in the troubled year 1842 than did any party manoeuvre or contemporary party programme. Infinite complexity of purposes blurred the whole political condition of the country, above all during the early part of the period covered in the volume. In 1841 the Tory Party espoused the Charter for the purpose of winning over the workers, while the Whig Party pressed for the abolition of the Corn Law, hoping thereby to win the vote of the English medium-sized property owner. O'Connor reversed the election technique proposed by another leader, Bronterre O'Brien, who had told the supporters of the people's Charter to vote for nobody who would not be pledged to support the Charter; whoever followed O'Connor voted Tory with no questions; O'Connor who came from rural Ireland opposed radicalism; O'Brien belonged to the world of manufacture and of modern "Anglo-Saxon" democracy, to the school of free trade, to the very extreme of radicalism. To Halevy the whole period is the "Age of Peel and Cobden." It could well be dubbed, too, the "Age of Agitation."

One hero does, however, emerge. It is Sir Robert Peel—not Cobden, to whom Peel most generously conceded the prime credit for the chief reform produced by the Tory government of 1841-1846, the repeal of the Corn Law. For, to Halevy, Peel stood head and shoulders above all the other contenders for power; Lord John Russell never rose above the level of the mere politico, the party manager, intriguer, and vote-seeker. Nobody could lead England like Peel led it, i.e., where it intended to be led.

JOHN J. HOOKER

University of Notre Dame

AMERICAN HISTORY

America Through British Eyes. Compiled and edited by Allan Nevins. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 530. $6.00.)

Believing as Professor Allan Nevins does that "an Englishman is just enough of a stranger to see us with a fresh and curious eye, eager for every new impression," he has prepared a panoramic survey of the comments of leading British travelers in the United States from the time of George Washington to Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has collected these observations together into one volume. The American public now has ready access to a body of interesting travel literature which the editor offers as important information about our social, economic, and political history.

The present book is a revised and enlarged edition of Nevins' 1923

compilation which he issued under the title of *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers.* It follows the previous plan in most respects by placing the writings of British visitors into various periods under the headings of Utilitarian Inquiry (1789-1825), Tory Condescension (1825-1840), Unbiased Portraiture (1840-1870), Analysis (1870-1922), and Boom, Depression, and War (1922-1946). This last division is entirely new and includes British reflections about post-war America and the New Deal. By means of an introductory essay the compiler has attempted to analyze the nature and spirit of the writings in each period. In this anthology the reader will find interesting opinions about life in the United States by William Cobbett, Charles Dickens, Harriet Martineau, William "Bull Run" Russell, Matthew Arnold, James Bryce, and M. Philips Brice.

Occasionally in the essays surveying the particular writers of each of his periods Professor Nevins refers to accounts which do not appear among the selections which he has chosen to exemplify the views of the various travelers. In commenting upon William H. Russell's sojourn in the United States as the correspondent of the London *Times* during the early days of the Civil War, he points out how the American public reacted when notice of the British reporter's "too frank description" of the Union rout at Bull Run reached our shores. The criticism in the North was so violent that the English newspaper man eventually had to leave the country. No extracts from this account are found among the writings which the editor has selected to characterize the work of Russell. The compiler also presents a critical examination of the views expressed in the chapter, "The Future of Democracy," in Gilbert K. Chesterton's *What I Saw In America.* Yet no extensive citation from this chapter is offered. Such an omission prevents the reader from judging for himself whether Chesterton was guilty of "a wild *non sequitur,*" as Mr. Nevins charges in his essay, when he wrote that "so far as that democracy (the American) becomes or remains Catholic and Christian, that democracy will remain democratic."

Viewed, in its entirety, however, this compilation offers useful collateral readings for students of American history. It will serve above all to dispel the popular illusion that British travelers in the United States have regularly been "haughty and supercilious" when depicting our manners and institutions.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

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George Washington, A Biography: Young Washington. By Douglas Southall Freeman. 2 Volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons. Pp. xxvi, 549; 464. $15.00.)

Douglas Southall Freeman, who needs no identification, has written two volumes of his projected biography of George Washington. This work, for which there is a real need, covers the first twenty-seven years of Washington's life. It reveals a complex character which may surprise some Americans, although scholars have known that he was not as simple as the synthetic demi-god who lives chiefly in the minds of columnists and school-assembly speakers. He was a moral, just, patient, amiable leader. He was also sensitive, suspicious, acquisitive, obstinate, ambitious, and humorless. At twenty-seven he was more ambitious than patriotic. To Freeman's surprise, he was "more complex . . . than Lee."

In coming volumes it will be interesting to watch the effect of ambition. How important was ambition in making Washington a revolutionary? With how much real reluctance did he accept the presidency of the United States? Nearly every step of his early career was taken as a move toward reputation and distinction. His ambition . . . "compassed four things—wealth, 'honor,' eminence and military distinction" (II, 388). How painful to him may have been the hostile press of 1796 and 1797!

Freeman's narrative also emphasizes the importance of Washington's early military experience. At twenty-one he was a major of militia and had to learn military arts by solitary study in order to teach the company officers. There were no professional officers in Virginia then. Came the Seven Years' War and he supplemented theory with practice: he learned supply at Fort Necessity, the utility of Indians at Braddock's disaster, the uselessness of raw militia during frontier scares. All in all he had a wider military education than is generally remembered. At the end of the war no native-born American had more military experience. He was also experienced in suffering misrepresentation, and in campaigning with short supply and inadequate forces. He had to deal constantly with civilian directors of military policy. The value of this for the years 1775-1783 is obvious.

The book is also a good examination of frontier war, of sectionalism, and of conflict between assembly and governor. In accenting the complaint of Virginia officers regarding disparate rank of royal officers, the author has particularized what most writers have been content to generalize.

A carper could make a list of defects in any work of art. This reviewer will confine himself to several which probably arise from the author's insufficient knowledge of the colonial period: (1) He accepts the criticism that British commanders should have used wilderness (i. e., extended order) tactics. How? It would have required reshaping the T/O, retraining the British army, inventing hand signals and breaking down

drilled-in habits of old regulars. Washington, with the Continental Army, never tried it. (2) He is rougher on the enlisted militia than necessary. There is nothing more disheartening than the feeling that one's officers do not know their work, and, apparently, the Virginia militia officers were as raw as the men. (3) He says that Pennsylvania was reluctant to spend money for war because the French forts were regarded as outside the province. This s over-smple.

Finally one can entertain a reasonable doubt whether the first twenty-seven years of even so eminent a man deserve two volumes totalling 913 pages. Less genealogy would help here. The author relied chiefly on Washington's writings, letters to Washington, Washington's account books, other material in printed sources which have never been seriously collated and the "often . . . tediously dull" diaries. Although a comprehensive bibliography is to follow, Volume II has a list of principal manuscript sources and a short-title index to the works most often cited. The apparatus includes many wisely chosen maps, facsimiles, and portraits. There are numerous helpful appendices. The English language is well handled. The organization is intelligent, with frequent excellent summaries from point to point as trains of thought are developed by the author. The concluding chapter is especially thoughtful and clear.

Here is a scholarly monument under construction which will stand until a new generation grows up to ask new questions.

MARSHALL SMELSER

University of Notre Dame

Dante's American Pilgrimage: A Historical Survey of Dante Studies in the United States, 1800-1944. By Angelina La Piana. (New Haven: Yale University Press. Published for Wellesley College. 1948. Pp. xi, 310. $4.00.)

For more than six centuries civilized peoples the world over have tried, with varying degrees of success, to understand, interpret, and expound the many-sided character of Dante—his life, his philosophy, his theology, his science, his political ideas, his greatness as a poet, and the importance of his works in literature and philology. Year after year there has been an incessant production of books, monographs, articles, and notes on every phase of Dante. The efforts of one people—the Americans—to add to a better understanding of these subjects have been admirably brought together in this highly informative and readable book of Miss La Piana who has thus made another substantial contribution to the subject of American cultural development and Italo-American cultural relations.

The author's avowed purposes in writing this book were two: first, "to give a more adequate and, as far as possible, a complete picture of Dante

studies in America which, without disparaging in any way the pioneer work done in the nineteenth century, should do justice also to the work done by more recent American Dantists; and second, to provide American historians with the material for a new chapter in the history of American culture." Indeed, Miss La Piana has brought together considerable heretofore unknown or forgotten data on the rise and growth of popular and scholarly studies in America for almost a century and a half, setting her survey against the historical background of certain aspects of American cultural life. In thirteen rich chapters the author has examined the American background and how Dante first came to be known in America: the essayists with particular reference to Richard H. Wilde and James Russell Lowell; the first American translators of Dante, especially the work of Parsons, Emerson, Longfellow, and Norton; further efforts made in the last decades of the nineteenth century; American translations of the *Divine Comedy* in the twentieth century; Dante's American biographers; realists and symbolists; Dante criticism; Danteana minora; Dante's portraits and illustrations of the *Divine Comedy*.

It is noteworthy, as Miss La Piana states, that despite the difficulty that Dante encountered in finding a place in American culture, yet not only has he remained so long, but he has, indeed, become an essential part of the American cultural tradition. What may be called the turning point from the American amateur to the scholarly stage of Dante studies occurred during the last decades of the nineteenth century, a period that coincides with an increase in the political, social, economic, and cultural history of the United States. It is significant to note that while no books on Dante were published in America before the second half of the century, from 1865 to 1944 (a period of eighty years) nine translations of the entire *Divine Comedy* were made here, five of the *Inferno*, and one almost complete of the *Purgatorio*. Besides, many cantos and large fragments from the three parts of the *Comedy* have been rendered in English by various American Dantists. The cultural level of the new American Dante literature is far above that of the last decades of the nineteenth century. As Miss La Piana demonstrates, the earlier literature lacked substance, and was deficient in critical discrimination and a sense of proportion; whereas the more recent literature is sober, critical, more discriminating in historical sense and literary taste, and manifests a scholarly appreciation of Dantean thought and art, and training in severe critical method of Dantean research. Nevertheless, while it is true that American Dante scholars have made substantial progress in achieving a better understanding of the Italian poet, yet it cannot be claimed that their contribution may be compared with the scholarly studies of Paget Toynbee, Edmund G. Gardner, and Edward Moore.

Miss La Piana's monograph should be on the shelves of every important

library, for it is a book that will be consulted and read with profit not only by students of Dante, but by all those who are seriously interested in American cultural history and in Italo-American cultural relations.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

Columbia University

The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886. By William D'Arcy, O.F.M. Conv. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1947. Pp. xii, 453. $4.75.)

What a story! If you find that the current mystery thrillers are not sufficiently lively for your tastes, a challenge is hereby issued: read Father D'Arcy's hair-raising account of the somewhat hair-brained activities of *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886.* It is guaranteed to so unnerve the reader that he may even resort to one of the more common, or humdrum, doctoral theses as a sedative. This is not to say that the work under consideration is unscholarly—far from it. On every page it exhibits thorough research, well calculated to satisfy the most critical of reviewers. But it is far more than this. It will (*rara avis* in a Ph. D. thesis) actually hold your interest, be you of a Hibernian extraction or not. If any commercial publisher reads this he will realize that he has "missed the boat."

"This Fenian Brotherhood—could be defined as an organized body of men devoted to a system of political, financial, and military action on the part of the Irishmen of America, aiding and co-operating with an allied body of revolutionists in the British Isles, for the purpose of gaining the independence of Ireland" (p. 15). The author attempts to study the Fenian Brotherhood in the setting of Reconstruction politics, domestic and international, for it was, indeed, the peculiar conditions existing in the United States in this era which chiefly explains the longevity of the organization. It was a period in which the policy of "twisting the lion's tail" became a feature of American diplomacy. The questionable conduct of Britain in building and equipping Confederate privateers during the Civil War was hardly calculated to make the State or War Departments overzealous in uprooting a group which might, by its very existence, serve as a make-weight in the larger field of Anglo-American relations. The discouragement of Fenianism, therefore, could always be seized upon by the Americans as a basis for a *quid pro quo* with the governments of Palmerston and Gladstone.

The Fenians were also used as a football by all shades of politicians during this period, particularly in the year which Howard K. Beale has so aptly called "critical." While Carl Schurz waved the "bloody shirt" at

the German bloc in 1866, both Radicals and ex-Copperheads flaunted the banner of Irish freedom to secure the votes of the eastern cities. Even cabinet members were not above inducing the sons of the Emerald Isle to entertain chimerical hopes that America's might would be used to liberate the long oppressed island from the British yoke. For both of the above reasons, then we behold the anomaly of the federal government permitting "armed expeditions to be raised for the invasion of a country (Canada) with which the United States was at peace." (p. ix).

The heart of the study concerns the actual planning and attempted execution of the several Fenian attacks on Canada. Here we see all of the passions, misguided patriotism, and tragi-comedy revealed in exciting prose. The author ascribes the Fenian failures to the fanciful (Celtic, of course!) overestimating of their own strength. Even more potent, perhaps, as he suggests, was the tendency of interested 'politicos' to make the movement subserve their ends. After 1870 the Fenians also encountered the concerted opposition of the Catholic clergy in the United States. It is well that Fenianism failed. In the first place, it was a hopeless dream from its inception. Secondly, if successful it would have embittered Anglo-American relations, the healthy state of which is the chief hope of the material strength of the West in today's crisis.

The book is at the same time instructive and humorous. Lydia Maria Child's knowledge of the Fenians is compared by the author to the River Platte—"three inches deep and five miles wide at the mouth" (p. 361). For a doctoral dissertation to be at once large, learned, humorous, and thoroughly readable, qualifies it for designation as a "collector's item," and that is exactly what Father D'Arcy's dissertation is.

GEORGE A. REILLY

Caldwell College

Amiable Autocrat: A Biography of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. By Eleanor M. Tilton. (New York: Henry Schuman. 1948. Pp. xi, 470. $5.00.)

If writing a good biography is an achievement, writing five is proportionally greater. And Eleanor M. Tilton had the latter task, so long is the art of imprinting the kaleidescopic Oliver Wendell Holmes who was at once doctor, lecturer, essayist, poet, wit, conversationalist, teacher, scientist, celebrity, novelist, biographer, and a dozen other things. After editing Holmes' hitherto unprinted poem, "At Dartmouth," Dr. Tilton, a product of Boston and Columbia Universities, now teaching at Temple University, used a fellowship from the American Association of University Women to work on *Amiable Autocrat.* The fruit has been this good biography with its formidable documentation, sound judgment, and

serviceable prose, a welcome supplement to the less critical study of Morse, and a fuller biography than the one by De Wolfe Howe.

Miss Tilton presents a full picture of Holmes' medical career, his zealous study, his progressive leadership against charlatanism, his valuable *Essay on Puerperal Fever,* and his fine teaching at his Harvard "settee of anatomy." Because of his humanity, wit, and charm Holmes was the first citizen of Boston. As a lecturer, his shrewd sense of the moment and the box office as well as his conversational genius, made him one of the most sought after members of the "fifth estate" in the culture-hungry lyceum era. No occasion was complete without his occasional poem. As the biographer recognizes, this was unfortunate, for the poems were *vers de société* too frequently written for the moment, and on the level of light wit. Quite accurately Miss Tilton scores his biographies, and considers the essay the proper genre of Holmes and the *Autocrat* his masterpiece.

One chapter treats what Holmes termed the "medicated novel." *Elsie Verner, The Guardian,* and *A Moral Antipathy,* are now unexamined evidences of the woeful inadequacy of these talking machines pasted together with the glue of a medical case-book. It is good to see that, despite the efforts of Clarence P. Oberndorf, M.D. of Columbia to re-edit these works as precursors of Freud, Dr. Tilton refuses this easy superficial label.

The deficiency of this biography lies in levelling off into something of a compilation. It lacks the *vivida vis animae.* That he be full-bloodedly alive is the quintessence of Holmes. Neither does the reader grasp fully the large historic and literary movements of which Holmes was a part. There is no summing up, no highlighting, no assimilation, although one feels the biographer knows, e.g., that an entire valuable chapter could be written on Holmes as a product of eighteenth-century England.

Holmes' fatal gift was his versatility. Because he did so many things, he did little that was great. His gadfly mind was unmanageable, as in later life he regretfully realized, and burgeoned his literary failings of lightness, verbosity, imaginative extravagances, and sentimental lapses. This reviewer agrees with the recent judgment of Alexander C. Kern that, because Holmes lacks emotional depth and sustained thought, there will not be a successful revival of interest in the Amiable Autocrat.

EDWARD F. KENRICK

Cardinal Hayes High School
New York City

Three Generations: Maria Boyle Ewing (1801-1864), Ellen Ewing Sherman (1824-1888), Minnie Sherman Fitch (1851-1913). By Katherine Burton. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1947. Pp. viii, 312. $3.50.)

Katherine Burton has for some years devoted her pen to chronicles of American Catholics, among them Rose Hawthorne, Elizabeth Seton,

Isaac Hecker, and James Kent Stone. In *Three Generations* she deals with three women whose lives taken together span over a century of American history. Because two of them, Maria Boyle Ewing and Ellen Ewing Sherman, married distinguished men of affairs their story is linked with the broader national scene.

Maria's husband was Thomas Ewing, United States Senator from Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury during President William Henry Harrison's brief administration, Secretary of the Interior under President Zachary Taylor, as well as a leading contender for the vice-presidential nomination in 1848. Had it not been for one of those odd shifts of political fortune he would have succeeded to the presidency after Tyler's sudden death. The Ewings started their life together in Lancaster, Ohio, when it was still a frontier community and their family experiences reflect the expansive, changeful America of the middle period.

Ellen Ewing married William Tecumseh Sherman, the Civil War general, who had grown up in the Ewing household; she shared the varied fortunes of his pre-war career which included several years' residence in the San Francisco of the gold rush era. Sherman's later role as General of the Army brought his family into the midst of the red-plush Washington and New York society of the "Gilded Age."

Minnie was the eldest of the eight Sherman children. After a few years as a capital belle, where she shared honors at home and on the "grand tour" abroad with Nellie Grant and other official daughters, she married Lieutenant Thomas William Fitch. Her husband resigned from the navy at the insistence of his masterful father-in-law to enter business, eventually becoming associated with the Pittsburgh steel industry in the days of its spectacular development. The pattern of Minnie's life was less exciting than that of her mother and grandmother which, perhaps, accounts for the fact that the older women overshadow her throughout the book.

All three were alike in an exceptionally strong sense of family feeling—and all three were devoted wives and mothers of large families. Perhaps the closest link between them was their Catholicism. Maria Ewing and Ellen Sherman, especially, were active workers in a variety of church projects both in the missionary parish of Lancaster and in the growing urban communities of St. Louis, Washington, and New York. Their friendships included many of the outstanding clerical and lay figures during the frontier stage of American Catholicism: Father Pierre De Smet, S.J., Archbishop Joseph Alemany of San Francisco, Bishop Edward Fenwick, O.P., Bishop Richard Miles, O.P., Archbishop John B. Purcell, Cardinal Gibbons, as well as such Europeans as Bishop (later cardinal) Herbert Vaughan who sought Ellen Sherman's aid in establishing a mission for Negroes in the United States.

Mrs. Burton has had at her disposal extensive manuscript material in

the form of letters, diaries, and personal reminiscences from the family papers and other archival collections. While the documentation would not satisfy professional standards, she has compiled a well-written, interesting chronicle for the general reader. In her attempt to picture nineteenth-century America through the life story of her subjects Mrs. Burton is most successful in the earlier chapters where she traces the westward trek of the Boyle-Ewing-Sherman tribe and their share in the foundation and growth of a typical trans-Alleghany community. She is least successful in the latter part of the book where the story tends to become more and more a repetition of the birth, marriage, and funeral experiences of any large family. There is no attempt at critical appraisal of the personalities or careers of the three women. They were apparently, like Caesar's wife, above reproach. On the whole, however, the book is a pleasantly informative addition to the growing store of social Catholic Americana.

MADELEINE HOOKE RICE

Hunter College

The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada: A Survey Showing American Parallels. By Paul F. Sharp. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 204. $3.00.)

Readers in the United States usually think of "the frontier" as an American thing. Many of them have heard or read that it influenced the history of their country profoundly, but that it disappeared about the year 1890 with the filling up of the West. Few of them are aware that it existed for years afterwards in Canada and there continued to exert its influence not only in its Canadian environment, but south of the border as well. In *Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada* Mr. Sharp traces the history of this later frontier, especially in its social, economic, and political aspects, down to the 1930's and he emphasizes the character and significance of its American roots and counterparts.

The similarity of the Canadian western frontier to that of the United States was due not only to the presence of a similar physical environment but also to the coming of an army of American agriculturists. After the exhaustion of the supply of free, fertile land in the United States in the 1890's, prospective settlers in that country were tempted to look elsewhere. The existence of vast tracts of rich, unoccupied soil within easy reach across an invisible political boundary would doubtless of itself have attracted a stream of immigrants from the south. When, in addition, an elaborate, well-organized campaign to advertise their western lands in the United States was waged by the Canadians through various agencies, including their government, the result was a heavy movement of American agricultural population into the "last best West."

The political effects of this great trek were what might have been expected. Faced with problems which were similar to those they had struggled for decades to solve in their former home, these newcomers attempted to apply American economic and political ideas in a Canadian environment. The result was a series of movements, throughout Canada's West, which in most cases were similar to, in some even derived from, parallel activities in the United States. These ranged all the way from attempts to secure, by united action, better conditions in respect to prices, marketing facilities, and credit, to organized political action on both a provincial and a national scale.

Anyone who is interested in the influence of the American frontier in the social, economic, and political spheres, and in the rise of third parties in Canada and the United States during the past half century, will find this volume well worth reading. It is scholarly, factual, unbiased and well-written. Moreover, in an age when the international point of view has become necessary as well as fashionable, its material is presented free from the limitations which the national outlook too often imposes.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

Queens College

NOTES AND COMMENTS

In view of the fact that the subject for the customary joint session of the American Catholic Historical Association with the American Historical Association at the annual meeting in Boston during next Christmas week will be the Religious and Social Aspects of French Canadian Immigration into New England, it is of interest to note that on May 28-29 there was celebrated at Worcester, Massachusetts, the centennial of the organized activity of the Franco-Americans in New England. The two-day congress had a solemn Mass in the Church of Notre Dame, where a plaque commemorating the event was unveiled. Speeches were delivered by both American and Canadian representatives during the congress, among them Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Roger Baudier, who retired in April for reasons of health after many years as editor of *Catholic Action of the South*, weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, has been named the official historian of the archdiocese by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel. This rare appointment to come to a layman has been earned by Mr. Baudier's jubilee brochures of New Orleans parishes and especially by his volume, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939). Mr. Baudier is a member of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Joseph Ludwig, chaplain at Notre Dame Academy, Toledo, Ohio, and one of the older priests of the Diocese of Toledo has recently been appointed diocesan historian. Father Ludwig hopes to complete a history of the diocese in time for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of its formation. His account, however, will take in the pre-diocesan history of the northwestern portion of the State of Ohio as well as the brief diocesan period.

One of the questions most frequently asked of those working in the Catholic history of the United States concerns the availability of the sources for that history. Many diocesan archives are not available either by reason of bad archival policies or because of the confidential nature of the records that have been preserved. The official records do exist in print. But since they are mostly in Latin they are practically unavailable to the ordinary student of social and cultural history. The acts of the provincial and the plenary councils of Baltimore should be translated and published for the benefit of these searchers. Volumes especially that need translation are those containing the decrees of the plenary councils of Baltimore in 1866 and 1884.

Now that the time is approaching when those who have letters and documents dealing with the Catholic phase of World War II will be sorely tempted to burn or otherwise destroy them to make room for new books and papers, efforts need to be made to have them turned over to responsible curators. A number of the Catholic college and university libraries have departments devoted to the care of papers of this kind and have curators who will welcome the gift of these records. There are still in many attics of families prominent in Catholic circles during the nineteenth century letters and documents which would be invaluable for the Catholic historian of the period, if properly edited. History teachers and curators will render a great service to American Catholic history if they can persuade the owners of these papers to turn them over to some responsible Catholic institution. Above all, these records should not be given over for selection or distribution to persons lacking a sense of the real value of correspondence and other records for history.

With the greater frequency of letters of bishops to their pastors and other administrators of parishes the value of the individual letter seems to decrease. It seems that some chancery offices have not kept even a complete file of these letters in duplicate. The libraries of the Catholic University of America and the University of Notre Dame already have special collections of these pastorals. A new and more complete edition of the national pastorals of the hierarchy also is needed to supplant the edition prepared by the late Monsignor Peter Guilday. There is, perhaps, no better statement of the official attitude of the bishops on the problems of the day than in these diocesan and national pastorals.

About two years ago the Mother Seton Guild of Emmitsburg, Maryland, and its director, the Reverend Salvatore M. Burgio, C.M., came into the possession of a valuable collection of letters formerly belonging to Mr. T. Seton-Jevons of Halesite, New York. The historian interested in any phase of Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton's work should be aware of the existence of this large collection of family papers, which ranks in importance with those of St. Joseph's Central House, Emmitsburg, the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, and the Sisters of Charity of Mount Saint Vincent in New York. The Seton-Jevons Collection includes over seventy letters written by Mother Seton to her husband, William Magee Seton, his Aunt Cayley in England, his sister, Rebecca Seton, and the Seton children, William, Richard, and Catherine Josephine. These letters range in date from 1794 to July, 1820. There are thirty-five letters of the son, William Seton, running from April, 1815, to November, 1820, and written from Marseilles, Leghorn, Boston, and Valparaiso. These latter are valuable for sidelights on the American naval policy in the Pacific during the critical years 1818-1820. Nineteen letters of Richard Seton to

his mother and family range from 1816 to 1818, from Baltimore to Leghorn. Seven letters or notes of Simon Gabriel Bruté, and one each of John Dubois, Henry Chatard, Aristide Anduze, and William Hickey are addressed to the son, William Seton; the one of Dubois is of special value to the historian of Mount Saint Mary's College. The ten letters of William Magee Seton cast an interesting light upon the social history of the Republic, written as they were from Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria from 1794 to 1801. Two earlier letters from Italy in 1788-1789 are valuable commentaries on Europe as well. The collection is completed by a miscellaneous group of letters to Mrs. William Seton of England, 1780, Philip Filicchi of Philadelphia, 1785, Louisa Caton, undated, Rebecca Seton from Alexandria, 1799, the elder William Seton, in New York, 1796, and a few odd commercial papers relating to Seton mercantile dealings with St. Croix and the Curzon family. This collection of over 150 letters, both in the original and in excellent photostatic copies, is available at the Mother Seton Guild Archives in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Although many of these letters in part or *in toto* have been used by Robert Seton in his *An Old Family* (New York, 1899), and *Memoir, Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Seton* (New York, 1869), the majority of them have not previously appeared in print.

During the Easter holidays the Reverend Henry J. Browne, archivist of the Catholic University of America, visited the archives of the Diocese of Albany, New York. While Albany is not so well known as other ecclesiastical record depositories in the United States, for certain aspects of American Catholic history it is important. The material is housed in a commodious two-story vault in the chancery office at 225 Madison Avenue, Albany. The papers are particularly full for the administrations of Bishops Francis McNeirny (1877-1894) and Thomas M. A. Burke (1894-1915). It was noted that the records of those bishops were interesting not only for the affairs of a provincial or national character which touched that suffragan see of New York, but especially for the unusual amount of local material. In these documents will be found a record of parochial affairs and Catholic life in upper New York State preserved to a greater degree than is generally the case in American ecclesiastical archives.

Thomas Augustine Hendrick (1849-1909), a priest of the Diocese of Rochester, was one of the four American clergymen chosen in 1903 to fill vacant sees in the Philippine Islands, which had been ceded to the United States in 1898. Bishop Hendrick was named to the See of Cebu where he served until his untimely death in 1909. He had been consecrated by Francesco Cardinal Satolli on August 23, 1903, in the church of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary, at Via Giusti 12, in Rome. News dispatches dated from Rome on that date and appearing in leading American newspapers the following day, recorded the name of the consecrating

prelate and one of the co-consecrators, the Most Reverend Jeremiah J. Harty, who had himself been consecrated Archbishop of Manila eight days before. The dispatches also added that Cardinal Satolli had consecrated another bishop at the same time, Monsignore Aristide Cavallari, titular Bishop-Elect of Philadelphia (Asia Minor) and pro-vicar of the See of Venice.

The name of the second co-consecrator does not appear in any of these dispatches, nor is it recorded in the archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, the Vatican Secretariat of State, or the annals of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters. However, the *Osservatore Romano* for August 25, 1903 (Anno xliii, No. 192, p. 2), has the following notice: "Yesterday morning in the church of the Franciscan Missionaries on Via Giusti, the consecration of Mons. Aristide Cavallari, titular bishop-elect of Philadelphia, took place. The consecration was performed by His Eminence Cardinal Satolli, assisted by Mons. Harty, Archbishop of Manila, and Barone, Archbishop of Melitene." Although no reference is made in this or any other issue of the *Osservatore* to the consecration of Hendrick, and although the date assigned by the article for the consecration of Cavallari is clearly incorrect, and should read the twenty-third instead of the twenty-fourth, it is reasonable to suppose that Archbishop Barone was also co-consecrator, with Archbishop Harty, of Bishop Hendrick. The Most Reverend Paolo Maria Barone (1844-1909) had been transferred from his residential see of Casale Monferrato, Italy, to the titular metropolitan See of Melitene on March 17 before the consecration of Bishop Hendrick and Bishop (later Cardinal) Cavallari, and at the time of the consecration was living in Rome as a consultor of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Later, on November 27, 1908, Archbishop Barone was made Archbishop of Siena, but died on May 20, 1909.

The Meehan Lectures of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York for 1949 were given on March 13 and 27 and April 3 by John Perry Pritchett, chairman of the Department of History at Queens College. The general subject was "Black Robes and Buckskins," and dealt with Catholic pioneering in the Northwest from colonial times into the mid-nineteenth century.

The annual meeting of the Teachers' History Club will be held at the University of Notre Dame July 15, 16, and 17. This club is composed for the most part of teachers of history and has for its purpose the exchange of ideas on methods and content for the high school history courses. The Reverend Joseph V. Swastek of St. Mary's College, Orchard Lake, Michigan, is president of the club and Sister M. De Sales, S.N.D., of Notre Dame Academy, Toledo, is the editor of the club *Bulletin*, which is issued quarterly in mimeograph form. Most of the meetings will consist of in-

formal discussions of syllabuses, textbooks, and specific problems met by the teachers in attendance.

The American Catholic Historical Association has appointed Manoel Cardozo, of the Catholic University of America, as its representative on the advisory committee which has been created to assist Arthur P. Whitaker in his capacity as United States member of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Other members of the committee are Wendell C. Bennett, George F. Zook, Richard H. Shryock, Samuel Eliot Morison, Clarence H. Haring, Lewis Hanke, Edgar B. Wesley, Oliver W. Holmes, Ronald F. Lee, John Gillin, George Foster, and Merle Curti.

The First Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States will be held as planned in Monterrey, Mexico, from September 4 through September 9. The gathering is being sponsored by the Academy of Historical Sciences of Monterrey, the American Historical Association, and the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico. A number of American universities will send delegates to the convention, but any historian is welcome to attend. Sessions will be conducted in Spanish and in English. Additional information will be gladly supplied by Carlos Pérez Maldonado, Apartado Postal 389, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico.

Professor Charles R. Boxer, of King's College, London, will leave very shortly for Brazil, on a Rockefeller grant, to gather material for the biography of Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides, an outstanding Brazilian figure of the seventeenth century, who is best known for the reconquest of Angola from the Dutch in 1648.

We are pleased to note the appearance of *Documenta*, organ of the Sociedad Peruana de Historia, of Lima. The first number, which was published at the end of last year, is devoted to a series of articles on the late Peruvian historian, José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma. *Documenta* is edited by Ella Dunbar Temple with the assistance of Jorge C. Muelle and Carlos Radicati di Primeglio.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held in Toronto on April 8-9 under the auspices of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The Academy's Haskins Medal was awarded to George Sarton, professor of the history of science in Harvard University, for his *Science and Learning in the Fourteenth Century.*

The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research: Theses Supplement Number 10, December 1948,* contains a list of theses completed in the United Kingdom during 1946-1948. A doctoral dissertation can usually be consulted in the library of the university conferring the degree. M.A.

theses are also available for consultation except at Leeds, Reading, and Oxford. The following studies seem to be of special interest to our readers: Winifred M. Mitchiner, "Anselm and His Circle; A Study of the Historical Importance of His Letters" (M.A., London); A. R. B. Fuller, "The Minor Corporations of the Secular Cathedrals of the Province of Canterbury (excluding the Welsh sees) between the Thirteenth Century and 1536, with Special Reference to the Minor Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral from their Origin in the Twelfth Century to the Visitation of Bishop Gibson in 1724" (M.A., London); Margaret A. Seymour, "The Organization, Personnel, and Functions of the Medieval Hospital in the Later Middle Ages" (M.A., London); G. A. J. Hodgett, "The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Lincolnshire" (M.A., London); H. Liebeschuetz, "Early Medieval Humanism, as Exemplified in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury" (M.A., London); W. J. Battersby, "St. John Baptiste de la Salle: the Work of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and Its Significance in the History of English Education" (Ph.D., London); F. R. Johnston, "The English Cult of St. Bridget of Sweden" (M.A., Manchester); Mary Renshaw, "Royal Wardship in the Reign of King John, with Reference to Chapters 3-6 of Magna Carta" (M.A., Manchester); G. M. Budge, "John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich" (M.A., Manchester); Stella Whileblood, "Anglo-Papal Relations during the Later Years of the Reign of King John, 1213-16" (M.A., Manchester); Dorothy Williamson, "The Legation of Cardinal Otto, 1237-41" (M.A., Manchester); Jean Parke, "The Manorial Administration of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1282-1304" (M.A., Manchester); A. P. Vella, "Robert of Orford and his Place in the Scholastic Controversies at Oxford in the Late Thirteenth Century, with an Edition of His *Reprobationes* of Giles of Rome" (B.Litt., Oxford); S. L. Forte, "A Study of Some Oxford Schoolmen in the Middle of the Fourteenth Century, with Special Reference to Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 65" (B.Litt., Oxford); C. A. Thomson, "Sir Thomas More as a Satirist in His Epigrams and Utopia" (B.Litt., Oxford); L. Mincio-Paluello, "The Methods of the Medieval Translators of Greek Philosophical Works into Latin" (D.Phil., Oxford); E. B. Fryde, "Edward III's War Finance, 1337-41: Transactions in Wool and Credit Operations" (D.Phil., Oxford); G. Kaftal, "The Iconography of Local Saints in Tuscan Painting from the Thirteenth to the End of the Fifteenth Century" (D.Phil., Oxford); H. Holroyde, "The Relations of Great Britain and the United States of America during the Spanish-American War of 1898" (M.A., Sheffield); Philip George Sudbury, "The Medieval Boroughs of Pembrokeshire" (M.A., Aberystwth, Wales); Ruth Ellen Alice Jones, "Marie Antoinette and the French Revolution" (M.A., Aberystwth, Wales); W. E. Griffiths, "The Roman Occupation in North Wales and Chester" (M.A., Bangor, Wales); A. B. Cottle, "The Tradition of St.

given to it (p. 108), and to read of "directives," a word which lacks, at the Thomas of Canterbury in Literature, Art and Religion" (M.A., Cardiff, Wales).

The same number of the *Bulletin* has a lengthy list of theses in progress. It should be consulted by those that work in the field of British history.

Cross and Crown is a new Thomistic review of spiritual theology. It is edited by the Dominican fathers of the Province of St. Albert the Great, Dominican House of Studies, River Forest, Illinois, and published by B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis 2, Missouri. The subscription price is $4.00 a year.

The *Round Table of Franciscan Research* (St. Anthony Friary, Marathon, Wisconsin) has reprinted its Volume VII with its series of articles on the birth of the Capuchin reform.

Historical New Hampshire published in March a well-illustrated article by Arthur K. Smart entitled, "When New Hampshire Laid the Foundations for Our United Nations."

"World Government: Why? When? How?" was the general topic of the fifty-third annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, held in Philadelphia on April 8 and 9.

In his very scholarly address, Mauricio Nabuco, Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, predicted that the world is rapidly dividing into continental groups, one of which will probably eventually dominate the rest of the earth by physical force. Dr. Nabuco dismissed any immediate probability of world government until all men acknowledge the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, and until a universal language—probably English—is adopted by all nations. Randale Elliott, noted economist, in his paper on "Regional Dynamics and World Affairs," held that regional groupings of nations are a necessary preliminary to any practicable world government, and hailed the Atlantic Pact as a significant step in this direction. Clark M. Eichelberger, director of the American Association for the United Nations, declared that world government will come through the present United Nations, and opposed as unwise any attempt to revise the U. N. Charter in the near future. Cord Meyer Jr., president of the United World Federalists, on the other hand asserted that the only alternative to immediate revision of the U. N. Charter is feverish rearmament by all countries, the subsequent loss of civil liberties by their peoples, and ultimately a catastrophic global war destroying all civilization. Mr. Meyer urged the abolition of the veto in the Security Council and the adoption of a plan making representation in the General Assembly contingent on three factors—population, literacy, and levels of economic development. In a stirring paper on "The Middle East and Prospects for

World Government," Kermit Roosevelt submitted that the U. N. and the United States, by their support of the new State of Israel, had lost the confidence of the people of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. These people are, he asserted, "coming to regard the U. N. more and more as a creature of the West—a new cloak for old devices." The Minister to the United States from India, Dr. Ninay Ranjan Sen, warned that any attempt at world union which lacked Asiatic support, and notably Russian support, is doomed to failure. Dr. Sen agreed with Mrs. Alva Myrdal of the U. N. Secretariat that world union would mean little unless the East first catches up with the West materially, and all mankind is adequately educated to accept and practice democracy. In an address entitled "Religion and World Order," Dr. Walter Van Kirk of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, made an eloquent plea that the three major faiths work in much closer harmony to "transcend Communism with a dynamic spiritual movement everywhere." The U. N., although far from perfect, is all that we have, declared Dr. Van Kirk, and the churches must seek to invest it with the fullest moral authority. Perhaps the most unusual address made during the meeting came from Joza Vilfan, Yugoslavian Ambassador to the United Nations. Dr. Vilfan vigorously protested any interference by the U. N. in what he termed "the internal affairs" of the Balkan nations—especially in the cases of the ecclesiastical trials in Hungary and Bulgaria. He attacked the world government idea as "a propaganda tool used by the United States to conceal its nefarious conduct in the U. N.," i.e., in its attempts to weaken the Security Council by circumventing the power of the Soviet veto. To abolish the veto, or to fashion the U. N. into a supranational court, he stated, can only result in the dissolution of the U. N. itself. He also deplored the tendency of the western powers to stress individual rights and freedoms at the expense of the "more fundamental" rights of sovereign nations to conduct their own internal affairs without outside interference. Our Association was represented at the meeting by the Reverend Robert E. Carson, O.Praem., of Southeast Catholic High School, Philadelphia, as its delegate.

Richard Pattee writes an article of many columns in the April number of *Columbia* on "'The Protestant Question in Spain." With his knowledge of Spanish history and understanding of the Spanish character he is able to outline in a few accurate strokes the background of the problem. His analysis of recent governmental and ecclesiastical pronouncements in Spain reveals a marked degree of toleration at the present time. Sporadic acts of violence to Protestant groups have been reprehended and controlled by the bishops as well as by the civil authorities. Jews and Moslems enjoy similar toleration.

Fascicles IX-XII, Volume XIII of *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* present articles on Blessed Baptist of Mantua, all of them in Latin except Patrick Russell's "Baptist of Mantua, Fifteenth Century Humanist."

Father Baudouin de Gaiffier takes occasion of a controversy that has been going on among authors in the Old French field concerning the legend of St. Alexis to trace the history of the legend in hagiographical literature. He cites twenty examples of similar nature in other accounts. By comparing the Greek, Latin, and French lives of Alexis he clarifies the obscurity in the Old French text. He shows that in the legend Alexis secured the consent of his bride to live in continence before leaving home to escape the importunities of his father, who insisted on his marriage. The article appears in Volume LXV of the *Analecta Bollandiana*. It is replete with gleanings from the wide field of hagiography. The author fits them together into an interesting and convincing argument. He promises more on the same subject.

Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia has published an index of its first twenty volumes, 1925-1947.

Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University of America assumed the editorial responsibilities for the United States History section of the *American Historical Review* in its issue of April, 1949. The post was left vacant by the death on January 10 of Edmund C. Burnett, for thirty years associated with the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

W. Kailer Dunn is making a collection of old movie films to illustrate the lives and activities of the Archbishops of Baltimore. He is especially anxious to get further film strips from the life of Cardinal Gibbons. If anyone possesses or knows the location of such, Father Dunn would appreciate hearing of it at 408 N. Charles Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland.

John Courtney Murray, S.J., has a valuable article, "St. Robert Bellarmine on the Indirect Power," in the December issue of *Theological Studies*. It is based on the author's wide control of the literature as well as the sources. As in all his writings, Father Murray does not lose sight of the practical problems of our own day.

Gerhart B. Ladner of the University of Notre Dame has been appointed a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton for the year 1949-1950. Dr. Ladner has in progress a study of the reform movements of western Europe in mediaeval times. In his absence Professor Marshall W. Baldwin of New York University will be visiting professor and lecturer in mediaeval history at Notre Dame.

Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi is on leave of absence from the Cath-

olic University of America and has been teaching during the second semester in the University of Vienna.

Edward A. Gargan, who is completing the work for his doctorate at the Catholic University of America, has received an appointment as instructor in history at Boston College for the coming year.

George C. A. Boehrer, who is completing his doctoral dissertation in Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America, has been appointed to an instructorship in history at Marquette University, beginning with the fall semester.

John E. Sexton, former professor of church history in St. John's Seminary, Brighton, died on March 8 at the age of sixty-three. Monsignor Sexton was trained at the Universities of Ottawa and Innsbruck, and in Rome, where he had the special advantage of study under Professor Ludwig von Pastor and Monsignor Louis Duchesne. He joined the faculty of the archdiocesan seminary in Boston in 1911 and remained there until 1940, when he retired from teaching to take the pastorate of St. Anthony's Church in Allston. Among his published works was *Cardinal O'Connell. A Biographical Sketch* (Boston, 1926), the first volume of the splendid *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), and, with Arthur J. Riley, the *History of Saint John's Seminary* (Boston, 1945). Monsignor Sexton served as Second Vice President of our Association in 1945, and he was always a most faithful and loyal member, lending encouragement and assistance from the earliest years. Despite the fact that from 1942 on he was stricken with one physical infirmity after another and for a good deal of these seven years remained practically a house-bound invalid, he continued his historical research and his devoted attention to the affairs of his large parish, all with his unfailing cheerfulness and kindly manner.

Mariano Cuevas, S.J., died on March 31 at the age of seventy in Mexico City. The noted Jesuit historian was best known for his five-volume work, *Historia de la iglesia en Mexico* (El Paso, Texas: 1928), which went through five editions in his life time and quickly established itself as an authoritative work on the Church of Mexico. His second major production, *Historia de la nación mexicana* (Mexico D.F.: 1940) surveyed his country's history from Cortés to Porfirio Díaz. Father Cuevas was a tireless research worker. His published volumes attest to the high accomplishment he attained in bringing to light new manuscript material and in giving proper credit to the influence of the Church and of Spanish civilization in Mexico's history.

Jean Delanglez, S.J., research professor of history in Loyola University, Chicago, died on May 9 at the age of fifty-three. Father Delanglez was

born in Belgium, where he received his early education. He joined the Jesuits in 1921 and studied at various times in houses of his order in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, Spokane, Dublin, and Munich. He took his doctorate at the Catholic University of America in 1935 with a monograph on *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763* (Washington, 1935). His interests after completing his graduate work were largely devoted to the history and cartography of the Mississippi Valley, and the fruits of his researches in that field were frequently carried in *Mid-America*. He edited in 1938 both the *Journal of Jean Chevelier* and *Some La Salle Journeys*. Father Delanglez's last work was the *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet, 1645-1700* (Chicago, 1948), a publication of the Jesuit Institute of History at Loyola, with which he was associated for many years. He was a familiar figure at the Newberry Library in Chicago, great depository of sources for the history of the Middle West.

John Montgomery Cooper, professor of anthropology in the Catholic University of America, died suddenly on May 22 at the age of sixty-seven. Monsignor Cooper had been a member of the faculty of the University for forty years and during that time had distinguished himself for his inspiring teaching, administrative service on many faculty committees, and above all for his productive research. Amid his many duties he found time for editing the anthropological journal, *Primitive Man*, to which he was a frequent contributor. For his contributions to the field of cultural anthropology, Villanova College in 1939 awarded him its Mendel Medal. He was a member of many learned societies, and in 1940 the American Anthropological Association honored him with its presidency. Besides his numerous publications in anthropology, Monsignor Cooper was the author of the four-volume work, *Religion Outlines for Colleges*, published between 1924 and 1930 and widely used in Catholic schools. He had been a member of our own Association since 1922.

The January-March issue of *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* is a special number containing the papers and sermons commemorating the University's centenary.

The April number of *Civiltà cattolica* carries a thirty-five page retrospective article entitled "Il nostro centenario". The first issue of this famous periodical appeared on April 6, 1850.

The Sisters of St. Francis Assisi of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, celebrated the centenary of their foundation with appropriate ceremonies, May 15-28.

The Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of the Perpetual Adoration of La Crosse, Wisconsin, who trace their beginnings back to the same foundation, celebrated the centenary on May 31.

On June 7, the Sisters of St. Dominic commemorated the hundredth anniversary of their foundation at Sinsinawa, Wisconsin, by Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, O.P.

The April 16th number of *America* is devoted to a commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of that publication.

Documents: Probanza de méritos y servicios of Blas González, Conquistador of Yucatan. Robert S. Chamberlain (*Hispanic Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Nov., 1948).—Jacques Arago and the Imperial Family of Brazil. Ed. by David James (*Americas*, Oct., 1948).—Senator Beveridge, J. Franklin Jameson, and Abraham Lincoln. Ed. by Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock (*Mississippi Valley Histor. Rev.*, Mar.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ANDERSON, ROBERT GORDON. *The City and the Cathedral.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1948. Pp. xii, 337. $4.00.)

Anderson's portrayal of thirteenth-century Paris is so colorful, so wholesome and vivid, that the nostalgic modern reader wishes it were all true, and the serious reader wishes there were footnotes to indicate where he found his sometimes amazing and always interesting information. His imaginative handling of his material is valuable because it enables him to demonstrate the contributions made by a mass of anonymous workers, illuminators, vestment-makers, and even the charwomen of the cathedral. At the same time he sketches in bold outline the more important personalities who made Paris the center of intellectual life in Europe of the thirteenth century.

A book like *The City and the Cathedral* has the great merit of arousing enthusiasm for things mediaeval in the wide public to whom *The Biography of a Cathedral* appealed. The majority of readers will be undisturbed by the occasional discrepancies and glittering generalities which mar the book from the historian's point of view. "At Crécy they—(the English using gun powder) blew French chivalry off the map for the time," will irritate none but the pedant who knows how ineffectual the two cannons at Crécy actually were. Perhaps, a greater number will be annoyed by his disparagement of Byzantine art and by the casual assumption that Gothic art was greater because more realistic. His racing, rollicking style, long sentences, and conscious use of alliteration, (e.g., "rectilinear rectitude") may offend the purist. The book, however, will still repay the casual reader—for whom after all it was written—as an interesting account of mediaeval cultural life. (SISTER CONSUELO MARIA AHERNE)

BARABÉ, PAUL HENRI. *Un siècle de miséricorde.* (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université. 1948. Pp. 415. $2.10.)

This volume is a history of the Sisters of Mercy, founded at Montreal in 1848 by Mme. Jetté (Mother of the Nativity) at the order of Bishop Ignace Bourget. Bourget's role was sufficient to justify the author's including here a special chapter on the life of the great prelate, although it had already been done. In a popular work of this kind where the primary objective is to hold the interest of the reader one can understand such a digression as that on Bourget, as also toward the end of the book, the long digression on the illness and death of Cardinal Villeneuve. That the author did not intend to do a scientific work was, of course, his right, and for that he should not be blamed. But the fact is evident; there is no preface, no bibliography, no index. One finds a certain number of quotations, at least passages between quotation marks, but there is no reference to the sources. There are no notes except in the first two chapters and they refer to published volumes. However, the style is simple and lively and makes for easy reading. Numerous are the friends and clients of the In-

stitute of Mercy. The sisters are devoted chiefly to the rehabilitation of womankind and the hospitalization of abandoned children and they have at present establishments from the east to west of Canada and also in some American states such as New York, Illinois, and Wisconsin. This book should make them better known. (HONORIUS PROVOST)

BAZIN, RENE. *Take This Child. . . . Un monastère de Saint Pierre Fourier "Les Oiseaux."* Translated by Sister Mary Aline, S.S.N.D. (Boston: Bruce Humphries. 1948. Pp. 201. $3.00.)

In this, his last book, René Bazin sketches the history of St. Peter Fourier's foundation known to us as the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Fourier became curé of Mattaincourt in Lorraine late in the sixteenth century. The religious, political, and economic structure of this region had been shaken by the Protestant Revolt. Reform was definitely in order. Fourier labored to render his unpromising parish truly Catholic. To aid him in this work he founded a congregation of women devoted to prayer and to the Christian education of young girls. The details of the early foundations are given; the upheaval occasioned by the Thirty Years' War is described, as is likewise Fourier's role in foiling the designs of Richelieu upon Lorraine. The story includes the expansion of the order up to the French Revolution, its suffering during that period, its revival under the empire, and its contribution to religion and to culture in Lorraine and in France. Special treatment is given to the history of a particular convent, "Les Oiseaux", in which several of Bazin's relatives, including his daughter, had lived. This house was suppressed in France under the laws of 1901 and 1904 at which time the foundation was transferred to England.

The writing of this book seems to have been a labor of love for the aged and distinguished author. The translator has done well in making it available for English readers. (SISTER LORETTA CLARE FEIERTAG)

BEDIER, JULIE (Ed.). *High Road in Tartary, an Abridged Revision of Abbé Huc's Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China During the Years 1844-5-6.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. viii, 219. $2.75.)

Father Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China* has long since become one of the world's great travelogues. It narrates the exciting trip of two Vincentian Fathers, Huc and Gabet, from Pei-ching to Lhasa, their precarious stay in Tibet under official and popular suspicion, and their forcible return to Kuang-chou and Europe. The book is full of information regarding the geography, flora, fauna, folklore, religion, and artcraft of the regions crossed by the adventurous missionaries.

For some decades after its publication the work had been discredited as fictitious, especially by a Russian explorer, Prievalsky, apparently out of jealousy for Huc's real achievement. But some forty years later the American traveler, W. W. Rockhill, corroborated Huc's statements with his own observations on the spot. Then Henri, Duc d'Orleans, wrote a book in defense of Huc, and Henri Cordier published some diplomatic correspondence on the expulsion of the two

Vicentians from Lhasa, leaving no doubt that they had been there. Further corroborating studies were published by Paul Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* [XXIV (1926), 133-178] and by Schuyler Cammann in the *Far Eastern Quarterly* [I (1942), 348-363], partly vindicating Huc's veracity.

Miss Bedier has abridged the original narrative to a fascinating story told in thirty-seven brief chapters, written in running style for the delight of all those who love purposeful and informative adventures undertaken for the glory of God in lands little known. The editor advisedly stripped the original account of many details so as to make the story more readable and enjoyable. As for veracity, she states: "No book of wild fantasies, Father Huc's story rings true in every detail. Even did not modern travelers corroborate his words, we know instinctively that here is a man who has seen things with his own eyes" (p. viii). True, Huc saw things Tartar and Tibetan with his own eyes but, as Pelliot and Cammann pointed out, he did not always report them accurately in every detail. The present abridged revision is an intelligent contribution to popular travel literature, finely illustrated by a pictorial map on the end papers and by drawings from the pen of Joseph Notarpole. (ANTONIO SISTO ROSSO)

BELTING, NATALIA MAREE. *Kaskaskia under the French Regime.* [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XXIX, No. 3.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1948. Pp. 140. $1.50, paper; $2.50, cloth.)

The author of this monograph merits praise for her very careful research which has made it possible for those interested to know much more about the daily life and customs of the French at Kaskaskia. Considering the none too rich deposit of materials with which she had to work, Miss Belting has done a fine piece of work. It should be noted, however, that the author has fallen into a common error concerning the period about which she writes. There have been so many newspaper articles and shallow sketches about the gaity and lightheartedness of the French in the Mississippi Valley that it is commonly imagined that life for them was more or less pleasant and constantly spiced with delightful parties. Actually the French were a simple, quiet people who worked hard and lived in constant danger. That their festivals strike the note of color and lively enjoyment is not a reason to imagine that life for them was a long summer excursion. It seems fair to offer the above remarks about Miss Belting's monograph, chiefly because the title of her work leads one to believe that its purpose was to attempt to narrate the story of Kaskaskia under the French. The work does not do this; rather it describes the intimate life of the village. This reviewer does not wish to leave the impression that the monograph is not a good piece of historical research; nor is it true to imagine that the French were never delightfully carefree. But a study of Kaskaskia under the French should show us the real picture. If one does not wish to discuss the story of Kaskaskia, except in its social phases, it seems only right to tell us so. (JOSEPH P. DONNELLY)

BLUM, JEROME. *Noble Landowners and Agriculture in Austria, 1815-1848: A Study on the Origins of the Peasant Emancipation of 1848.* [Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXV. No. 2]. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. Pp. 295, xiv. $4.00.)

Jerome Blum has given us a detailed picture of the physical, economic, and political structure of the Austrian Empire in the thirty years prior to the Revolution of 1848. The main thesis of this well-documented treatise is that the noble landowning class, "the ostensible beneficiaries of the system of hereditary subjection," was responsible for the emancipation of the peasants in 1848. The economic loss to the landowner from the forced peasant labor and payment in kind, as well as fear of peasant uprisings, motivated the magnates' demand for agrarian reforms in the landlord-peasant relationship. However, the peasants' plan for emancipation, differing basically from that of the nobles, allowed no indemnification to the lord for the customary peasant dues and services.

The founding of agricultural societies and colleges in practically every province and vast plans for land reclamation and experimentation gave proof of the noble landowners' interest in capitalistic farming. But the reactionary Hapsburg government, aiming to use peasants' loyalty to check the political power of the nobles, thwarted the lords' efforts. But the real nature of the fallacious governmental program of reform in the patent of December, 1846, was recognized by both peasant and noble landowner. Feeling that their emancipation had been secured in the early days of the revolt of 1848 and motivated by selfishness and conservatism, the peasants withdrew from the revolutionary movements. The result was the success of the nobles' plan of agrarian reform in which they not only got rid of a system that was an economic liability but were paid for giving it up. For the emancipation decree of September 7 ordered that the lords were to receive indemnification.

Fifty of the 275 pages of this scholarly treatise consist of an annotated bibliography of official documents. Because of its technicality it will hardly appeal to the general reader, but it may well serve as a handbook for the student of Austrian history. (SISTER M. CLAIRE LYNCH)

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (Ed.). *The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Volume XVI, *The Territory of Illinois, 1809-1814.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. xi, 506. $3.25.)

The contents of this volume are divided into four parts: (1) papers relating to the foundations of the Territory of Illinois, 1809; (2) to the administration of acting Governor Nathaniel Pope; (3) to the first administration of Governor Ninian Edwards, 1809-1812; (4) and to the second administration of Governor Ninian Edwards, 1812-1814. At the beginning of each document is a note indicating the source from which the historical paper is selected.

These government documents are carefully selected from a very large amount of material on the basis of administrative problems or military defense associated with administration. Under this heading fall many documents bearing on the adjudication of disputed land titles, and the survey, sale, and administration of public lands. Indian affairs are not neglected but are given minor consideration

because they had national ramifications, and a separate volume would be required to publish the extensive and numerous documents on this subject. Several documents on this subject are related to administration and in addition present two colorful events of the War of 1812, a struggle closely involved with the Indian problems of the West. On page 310 is a letter of Thomas Forsyth to the Secretary of War dated at St. Louis, Missouri, April 10, 1913. On page 379 is a "Memorial to Congress from inhabitants of Peoria, Illinois."

These two documents recount a shameful event during the War of 1812. Captain Thomas E. Craig, a military leader commissioned by Governor Edwards, allowed his troops to plunder one-half the village of Peoria and to carry away as prisoners forty inoffensive inhabitants. The justification of this act of vandalism by Craig was not forthcoming from contemporaries and is represented in the documents as wholly indefensible. The prisoners, including Antoine Le Claire, founder of Davenport, and an invaluable Indian interpreter and agent in the succeeding twenty years, were released in a short time and Governor Edwards compensated the inhabitants of Peoria out of Indian funds for the property losses they sustained in the wanton pillaging of Peoria. The West was poorly defended. General Hull's surrender of Detroit without a battle and apparently without necessity precipitated a great Indian massacre at Fort Dearborn (Chicago). The documents in this volume merely confirm the voluminous accounts of the disaster by local historians. A novel by Ramdall Parrish, noted Illinois fiction writer, is based on the Fort Dearborn debacle. General Hull ordered the evacuation of the fort. Following military orders but contrary to the prudent advice of the experienced seaman and merchant, John Kinzie, Captain Heald evacuated the fort and prepared to march to Fort Wayne, Indiana, on the morning of August 15, 1812. About one and one-half miles below the Chicago River on the beach of Lake Michigan he encountered an Indian ambush. Fifty-three Americans were killed including two women and twelve children.

In 1818 Illinois became a state with a workable constitution, replaced in turn by the constitutions of 1848 and 1870, and orderly democratic government became a reality—envisioned by Governor Edwards but not realized in the turbulent territorial period. (THOMAS F. CLEARY)

CUNZ, DIETER. *The Maryland Germans: A History.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 476. $5.00.)

This study by an associate professor of German at the University of Maryland is a scholarly effort to fill in a small part of the still incompletely told story of American immigration. The author includes in his purview all German-speaking immigrants into Maryland whether from Germany, Austria, or Switzerland. In his own words he is "concerned with immigration, settlements, some outstanding individuals, and especially with the problem of Americanization."

German immigrants first arrived in Maryland in significant numbers in the first half of the eighteenth century and concentrated in western Maryland in the vicinity of Frederick and Hagerstown. A little later the Germans began to play a noteworthy role in the already established town of Baltimore. In these two principal localities—western Maryland and Baltimore—the history

of the Maryland Germans unfolded. The former were conservative and agrarian, and their communities were built intimately around their churches. The latter were urban, representing commercial and professional as well as artisan and working classes, and with a strong proclivity for all sorts of clubs and societies.

Although there were Catholic Germans present earlier, they did not begin to arrive in Maryland in large numbers until about the middle of the nineteenth century. The author's treatment of the Catholic Germans with their rapidly developing parishes in both Baltimore and Cumberland is rather cursory. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical history of the older and more numerous Lutheran and Reformed Germans is rather extensively detailed. The full story of the Catholic Germans in Maryland still remains to be written.

One of the strong points of the book is the study of the German-language press in Maryland, particularly the *Deutsche Correspondent* and the *Wecker*. The *Katholische Volkszeitung* is acidly criticized for its conservatism. In this regard it may be noted that the application of the concepts "conservative" and "liberal" to religious discussions in the Church during the nineteenth century is inappropriate, particularly when the former term is equated with "apostolic."

All in all, Dr. Cunz has done an excellent job, well worth the many years of toil he spent in gathering his material. The index is Teutonic in its thoroughness; the format is in the best tradition of the Princeton University Press. (CHARLES R. GELLNER)

DELANGLEZ, JEAN, S.J. *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645-1700)*. [Institute of Jesuit History Publications]. (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1948. Pp. vii, 289. $5.00.)

This substantial book is a thorough and methodical study of the career of the French discoverer of the Mississippi, who was also seignior of Anticosti, royal hydrographer, and the explorer of the routes to Hudson's Bay and Labrador. The late author was a research professor at Loyola University, Chicago, and a specialist in early French-American history, particularly in its ecclesiastical aspects. There have been only three previous studies of Jolliet by Shea, Margry, and Gagnon, but several important phases of his life have been discussed by others, notably by Francis Borgia Steck in his *Jolliet-Marquette Expedition* (Washington, 1927). Based on documentary sources, the present work, which is chiefly a condensation of ten periodical monographs, is full of scholarly apparatus evincing much laborious research. In evaluating the evidence for his facts and theses, the author frequently disputed or corrected the views of his predecessors and presented his reasoning compactly, clearly, with proper references and with little attempt at literary coloring.

Of the eleven chapters five are devoted to the Mississippi expedition. To avoid mere repetition or the elaboration of unsupported theories, he prefaced his account of the voyage with a careful analysis of the few extant primary sources, manuscript and cartographical, describing a number of the documents in detail but restricting himself to the main stages and conclusions of his argument. Among the secondary manuscript sources he included the *Récit* formerly attributed to Father Marquette, the provenance of which is discussed at length.

The work has two appendices: one is a study by Jacques Rousseau of Jolliet's trip to Hudson's Bay, conclusions from which it was planned to embody in a future French edition; the second is a calendar of Jolliet documents. The bibliography contains only those books and articles referred to by the author in his basic monographs and there is also an index. (ROBERT GORMAN)

ECKEL, PAUL E. *The Far East Since 1500.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1947. Pp. xiv, 820. $5.00.)

This book by Professor Eckel of the University of Pennsylvania "seeks to present for the college student and general reader the social, cultural, and intellectual aspects of the history of Eastern Asia, as well as the more familiar political, economic, and diplomatic phases" (p. v.). It is divided into thirty chapters dealing with the lands of eastern Asia and extending in time from the sixteenth century to World War II with its impact on the Far East, as well as the post-war trends in eastern Asia.

All this mass of information is packed in chapters which are divided into subheadings and sections to orientate the reader's mind through the greatly varied material which is presented with scholarly accuracy and didactic effectiveness. Occasional footnotes discuss or document points of particular import. At the end of each chapter an abundant section of selected readings offers and discusses the bibliography pertinent to the various sections of the chapter. This feature will prove helpful to both students and scholars in the field as an intelligent and reliable guide to source materials. Besides, a selected bibliography of bibliographies, treaties and conventions, periodicals, geographic studies, general histories, and selected works by countries, gives over 1,200 entries for quick reference and consultation (pp. 747-783). A detailed index (pp. 785-820) enhances further the value and usefulness of the book. Two color maps of Asia on the end papers and many other outlines in the text illustrate and enrich the work.

The wealth of information about the Far East since 1500, its scholarship and readability, and its full documentation make of this book the best manual on Far Eastern studies for scholars, students, and general readers. (ANTONIO SISTO ROSSO)

EINSTEIN, DAVID G. *Emperor Frederic II.* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1949. Pp. 427. $4.50.)

This is not a scholarly work nor is it intended as such. There are no footnotes and the bibliography fails to mention Huillard-Breholles, *Historia diplomatica Frederici II,* the *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Acta Imperii inedita* (ed. Winkelmann), and *Patrologia Latina* (ed. Migne) among the primary sources. The list of secondary references is equally incomplete, e.g., neither Kantorowicz's nor Hampe's studies seem to have been consulted.

Mr. Einstein's thesis that Frederic was a "modern" man whose social, educational, and legal reforms were grounded in this modernity is untenable and results from his lack of scholarship. The latter is evidenced, e.g., in his statement that the Greek empire was "a magnificent Saracen Empire" (p. 21), that Holy Week is preceded by Holy Thursday (p. 229), and that Frederic was

the last of the holy Roman emperors (p. 9), though the empire perished in 1806 (p. 145).

These and similar inaccuracies are matched by the author's misconceptions concerning the Middle Ages in general. The author is puzzled by Frederic's edicts against heretics. Had he been conversant with mediaeval political theories he would have understood the edict as an effect of the concept of the *gladium temporale*. Mr. Einstein is equally unable to comprehend Frederic's struggle with the Papacy. He conceives of it in terms of a modern liberal battling for freedom of thought against a reactionary oppressive force. His presentation of the mediaeval Church is deficient both in understanding and familiarity with his subject. In his opinion, e.g., anathema and excommunication are nothing else but political weapons.

Mr. Einstein has also attempted to give a psychological explanation of his subject. To this end he introduces unsupported remarks concerning Frederic's thoughts at particular times as well as unusually detailed considerations concerning the emperor's love life and its influence upon his thoughts and actions. The book contains a number of marginal reflections of the author which tend to reveal further his lack of insight.

The typography, paper, and binding are of good quality. (ULRICH STEPHAN ALLERS)

GANTENBEIN, JAMES W. (Ed.) *Documentary Background of World War.* Volume II. *1931-1941.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. xxxiii, 1122. $10.00.)

This volume of speeches, state papers, agreements, messages, notes, and telegrams—is an attempt at an orderly presentation of commonly available and, perhaps, a few generally unavailable papers related to World War II. It is understandable that these selected papers cannot be considered as the ultimate on specific issues, but they are a valuable source of information.

The speeches of international figures are noteworthy for their direct bearing on vital issues, and should be appreciated by research students seeking primary source material. External criticism of the documents is possible, should authenticity be questioned. This collection of pertinent speeches reflects definite attitudes and tendencies of every major power involved in the recent conflict. Unfortunately, a really complete file of Franklin D. Roosevelt's papers is not represented. Roosevelt, judged by his speeches in this volume, should be acclaimed a giant among statesmen, a defender of the weak and unprotected nations, and the advocate of retribution due every fascist state threatening democracy. However, the works of Beard, Mikolajczyk, Lane, Nagy, and Ciechanowski present Roosevelt in an entirely different light. State secrets are often found among personal and state papers of national leaders and a major portion of the Roosevelt correspondence has not yet been made available to historians.

Statements of general policy, disarmament and agreements are neatly arranged to give the reader a clear idea of the preponderant policies of the great powers of the world. Particular relations with separate nations are dealt with in substance, if not in detail. The Chamberlain-Hitler transaction which gave Ger-

many assurance of limited British resistance to Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia is significantly clear by act and inference as described by these documents. Misleading, however, is the choice of documents of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet practice of Machiavellian expediency in politics at home or abroad is not indicated by these documents. Yet of what value are documents which contradict realities enacted by the propounding state? In addition to the documents themselves, there is an index and an appendix which contains the Department of State chronology from 1938 to 1941.

Notwithstanding limitations placed upon the editor, this collection of documents is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the period before World War II and should impress politicians and historians alike with the value of pacific international relations. (ANTHONY L. MILNAR)

GOSNELL, HARPUR ALLEN. *Guns on the Western Waters: The Story of River Gunboats in the Civil War.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 273. $6.50.)

Although the Navy Department was very badly prepared for the conduct of war in 1861, almost all naval officers of the day could see the basic strategic problem presented to the Union Navy. The obvious first step was to blockade the Confederacy so as to prevent the importing of munitions and likewise to prevent the South from disposing of the cotton then on hand. The next obvious step was to seize control of the Mississippi and tributaries, and this book deals with the efforts to control that river, especially those begun from the North.

Although the control of the Mississippi could not possibly have been brought about as rapidly as it was if Farragut's fleet had not taken a hand, yet it is interesting to see that the work of our improvised and converted gunboats on the northern stretches of the river was probably an even greater tribute to the sailor's ability to adapt himself to conditions. The officers and men, regular and volunteer, who built, manned, and operated these gunboats made a wonderful record and Commander Gosnell has done an excellent job in reporting it. Instead of telling the story in his own words, Gosnell has chosen to present to the reader the actual reports or statements of the participants. He links up these extracts and provides a connected chronology.

The book is interesting to the general reader as well as to the student of naval history, and it presents an exceptionally vivid and accurate over-all account of the operations of the gunboats. The author is deserving of high credit for his work. But, strangely, there is no index. (JOHN B. HEFFERMAN)

Guide to the Records in the National Archives. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. xvi, 684. $2.50, cloth).

All students of history will welcome the new *Guide* to the material in the National Archives which supersedes the volume published in 1940. In this recent volume all materials received down to June 30, 1947, are listed under the 224 record groups described, and appendices provide the student with the restrictions on the use of some of the records and the regulations governing the use of all.

A sixty-three page index enables one to isolate quickly the items for which he is searching, and a six-page introduction gives an over-all sketch of the National Archives since 1935 and a general description of some of its facilities.

The National Archives has become increasingly important as a research center for students of American history, and with good reason. The Catholic research student can find here a great quantity of material of interest to him. For example, the records of the Office of Indian Affairs (pp. 295-303) will be of importance to those interested in the history of the Catholic Indian missions of the United States. Again the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (p. 430) contain valuable material on the Church in the Philippine Islands, Cuba, and Puerto Rico in the years immediately after the Spanish-American War. These are but two of the record groups wherein Catholic material of a high value can be found.

The documents are described in only a general way with the number of linear feet in the case of each item, since anything like a detailed index or calendar would be out of the question in a depository which measured its holdings in June, 1947, in 813,280 cubic feet. However, an added feature of help to the searcher are the bibliographical notes inserted in the cases where more detailed descriptions of the documents have appeared in some periodical or journal. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

HOLMES, URBAN T., JR. AND ALEX J. DENOMY, C.S.B. (Eds.) *Medieval Studies in Honor of Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xxxii, 376. $6.50.)

Preceded by a *vita* of Professor Ford and a bibliography of his writings, the twenty-one studies in this carefully edited and perfectly printed volume represent a variety of subjects and methods of scholarly investigation. Only a general idea of their contents can be given in the space allotted this review.

There are linguistic studies by Clovis Brunel, who shows that Provençal *os* meant *jambon;* by Lucien Foulet, who explains why *avaler* in the sense of *descendre* finally disappeared from usage; by Kenneth Jackson, who attempts to explain the more conservative pronounciation of Vulgar Latin in Roman Britain as the result of its being learned from schoolmasters; by Lucius Gaston Moffat, who gives a fuller explanation of the interchange of *-ou-, -oi-* in Portuguese by taking into consideration all the complex factors that may have contributed to the confusion; by Francis M. Rogers, who, having observed personally that the language of Flamengos on the island of Fayal is exactly the same as that of any other village in the island, concludes that there is no truth to the alleged Flemish influence on the pronunciation of insular Portuguese; by Mario Roques, who classifies the Latin-Old French *Abavus* glossary in the now destroyed Turin MS on the basis of the twenty-four words extracted and published by J. Camus in 1902; by L. F. Solano, who gives a chronological and comparative explanation of the diphthongization and metaphony of accented *e* and *o* in Rumanian; by Taylor Starck, who publishes the Old High German glosses to Boethius and Prudentius in a Naples manuscript; by B. J. Whiting,

who suggests that Chaucer's expression "to have a colt's tooth" may come from Deschamps, although chronology offers difficulty.

Of interest to intellectual historians, philosophers, and theologians is a contribution by H. A. Wolfson, who traces the history of the meanings of the expression *ex nihilo* in the Church fathers, Arabic and Hebrew philosophy, and St. Thomas. Other articles of concern to historians are contributed by Tom Peete Cross, who calls attention to a few archaeological discoveries that lend support to the tradition in the *Leabhar Gabāla* that the ancient Irish come from Spain; by George Sarton, who indicates the value and the popularity in western Christendom of Bernard of Gordon's medical treatise, *Lilium medicinae;* and by H. M. Smyser, who edits the list of Norman names in the Auchinleck MS, diplomatically the oldest Battle Abbey Roll.

Another group of scholars contributes studies of particular interest to literary historians. Edward B. Ham re-edits a short Old French crusade poem, the text of which three previous editors had marred "by gratuitous guesses and arbitrary normalizations." Francis P. Magoun, Jr., reprints and translates the *Praefatio* and *Versus* associated with some Old Saxon biblical poems, discusses the questions raised by these texts, and furnishes in an appendix a German translation made in 1573. Warren F. Manning rejects or corrects statements of previous editors concerning the date and sources of an Old Spanish life of St. Dominic. William A. Nitze shows that the Fisher King got his name from Irish *Nuadu*. R. Menéndez Pidal identifies a Spanish love song sung by the Jew Sabbati Cevi with a Spanish "romance" of which Pidal has collected ten different modern forms in the Middle East. F. N. Robinson reprints and translates more correctly than had previously been done three bits of Irish verse found as marginalia in the Drummond Missal. W. L. Wiley shows that the group of French poets known today as *rhétoriqueurs* were not designated as such either by themselves or by contemporary critics and finds that the term dates from the end of the nineteenth century. Finally, in a stylistic study, Helmut Hatzfeld isolates the original features of Joinville's prose, but the usefulness of his analysis is limited by the omission of the examples for lack of space. (Alessandro S. Crisafulli)

Jepson, John J. (Trans.) *St. Augustine. The Lord's Sermon on the Mount.* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1948. Pp. 227. $2.75.)

The translation of St. Augustine's *De sermone Domini in monte* is the fifth volume in the series, Ancient Christian Writers, edited by Drs. Quasten and Plumpe. Father Jepson's work has been simply that of translation; the introduction and the notes are by the editors.

The standard set for the translations in this series was that they might be "at once faithful to the original message and intelligible to the reader of our century;" a standard which has been met in this latest member of the series. The high quality of the translator's work, however, makes one particularly surprised to find that "transpire" is used with the meaning commonly, but wrongly,

moment, that general usage by good authors which would make it acceptable in a work of this sort.

The usefulness of this translation for the educated general public is evident. By it one more avenue of return to the sources of our Catholic tradition has been opened to those whom ignorance of the original languages and/or inaccessibility of the great patristic collections kept from the ancient Christian literature. Father Plumpe's notes are of the highest scholarly value. One finds, however, in this work of Augustine the same disadvantage found generally in the patristic literature: mixed in with pages of theological profundity and spiritual beauty are examples of exegesis of the most arbitrary sort which, however much it may have pleased the ancients, is neither scholarly nor to the taste of our contemporaries. E.g., the mountain on which the sermon was given stands for the greater precepts of righteousness; the beatitudes are reduced to seven in order to co-ordinate them with the gifts of the Holy Ghost and to apply to them the sacred number; Old Testament curses are "predictions rather than imprecations." When one finds Augustine rejecting a particular interpretation as "absurd and ridiculous," one agrees completely, but wonders how it differs very much from others which he thinks acceptable; the reasoning by which he demolishes it might well be applied with equal force to some others which he favors. For this reason, one might wish that Dr. Plumpe had included in his informative notes some brief treatment of Augustine's exegetical methods which would reassure the uninformed that they are not norms of Catholic procedure in these matters. If that would be outside the scope of the notes, there might have been at least a reference to such a study as Pontet's *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur.* (MYLES M. BOURKE)

MASTERSON, JAMES R. AND HELEN BROWER. *Bering's Successors, 1745-1780. Contributions of Peter Simon Pallas to the History of Russian Exploration toward Alaska.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 96. $2.00.)

Bering's Successors is a timely and valuable contribution to the not very extensive literature on the history of early Alaskan exploration. It consists of a translation of those portions of the work of P. S. Pallas, the eminent eighteenth-century German naturalist, concerning the Russian explorations toward Alaska following Bering's voyages. Pallas preferred to abstract the original sources rather than publish them verbatim, the method usually employed in describing travels. Thus of the nine items translated only two are original journals of voyages, while five are abstracts of other voyages, all of them being largely among the islands lying between Siberia and Alaska.

The two remaining items translated consist of a monograph by Pallas summarizing the general state of knowledge of these regions to the year 1780, and the discussion of a map which he prepared covering these explorations. That Pallas kept up to date is indicated by certain notes which he added some years later, referring to Cook's celebrated voyage and making certain corrections and additions to the text as a result of this new knowledge. The basis of these explorations was the search for fur-bearing animals which existed in fabulous

numbers throughout these islands. The description of the islands and hardships connected with the voyages makes interesting reading.

Dr. Masterson's introduction to the translation furnishes an excellent discussion of all the important literature on this subject. Numerous and adequate notes, supplied both by Pallas and the author, add clarity and value to the translations. (CLARENCE J. COLEMAN)

POCHMANN, HENRY A. *New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism.* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. 1948. Pp. 144. $3.00.)

The author's purpose in this book is not to write the history of either New England Transcendentalism or St. Louis Hegelianism, but to trace out their contacts and indicate their mutual influences. This he does quite well. Locating himself in St. Louis, he traces the main steps in the development of the St. Louis school under Brokmeyer and Harris; then he brings Alcott and Emerson to St. Louis; and finally he follows the St. Louisans to New England, where he stresses the role of Harris and Jones—Hegel and Plato—in the Concord school. A final chapter on the "abiding effects" of Transcendentalism and Hegelianism is cautiously done with the restraint of a good scholar.

Professor Pochmann's work is descriptive rather than analytical, historical rather than critical. He contents himself with tracing the growth and showing the points of contact between the two movements. His point of view is western—and this turns out to be a happy accident, inasmuch as the role of the St. Louis Hegelians in the development of American thought is less well known than that of the Transcendentalists.

The author's thesis can be stated thus: New England Transcendentalism reinforced the Hegelian movement in St. Louis; both movements joined to fructify the important outposts of idealistic thought in the Middle West; then all western idealists headed for Concord where they joined the eastern idealists in forming the Concord school. A fuller and longer study would probably modify some of the incidental generalizations Professor Pochmann makes—such as his reliance on Snider alone for the extent to which St. Louis was "Hegelized" after the Civil War and his consequent overstatements in this regard. Such modifications and shadings, however, would not change the principal thesis of the book. (THOMAS P. NEILL)

PURVIS, J. S. *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York. A Selection with Introduction and Notes.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1948. Pp. xviii, 244. $4.50.)

The publication of archival material is, as a rule, a valuable contribution to the factual history of the times to which it pertains. We are glad to say that Mr. Purvis, archivist of the Archdiocese of York, has striven to do exactly this in his classified selection of newly-discovered documents pertaining to the official visitation of parishes in Yorkshire during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His matter is taken from hitherto almost entirely unexplored and unpublished

visitation material; from books and papers of the Ecclesiastical Commissions of York; and from the files of the Ecclesiastical Courts of York, the so-called Cause Papers.

Of the six archiepiscopal visitations made in Yorkshire during the reign of Elizabeth, full records of only two have survived. These the author has profitably used. In the foreword, the Archbishop of York makes these pertinent remarks which give the reader a good synthesis of the main contents and purpose of the book: "As we read these texts, we gain a picture of a rough and unruly age in which there is much brawling, drunkedness and disorder. Many of the churches are in bad repair, the people often walking and talking in them, even during the sermon; a football is kicked about the Minster itself; brawls within the church, and in the churchyard seem to be fairly frequent. The clergy, also, are often disorderly, some rarely preaching, some reading the services inaudibly, others refusing to wear the surplice, and yet others attempting to maintain old customs which had been prohibited. Their parishioners are ignorant and superstitious, believing in witchcraft, resorting to soothsayers and using charms" (p. ix). The duty of the authorities after detecting these abuses was to wipe out the disorders and to punish the offenders. The offenses are set down in the *Comperta*; the actions taken in the *Acta*.

Of interest to the Catholic historian is the documented evidence that despite the penal laws against recusants so many forbidden Catholic practices still prevailed throughout all of Elizabeth's reign, albeit looked upon by the Anglican Church authorities as so many signs of superstition, e.g., the use of roods, images, and holy water-stoups; the ringing of bells on All Souls' Day; the continued celebration of ancient obligatory feast-days and observance of once prescribed fast-days; Corpus Christi plays; the praying on beads, etc.

The book should be a treasure house on which future historians will draw. It is full of interesting details—direct quotations—pertaining to parish life in the Elizabethan era and it aptly illustrates by documentary evidence the widespread and less laudable practices prevalent in many parishes of the Anglican Church. It also gives, however, the earnest endeavors on the part of the authorities to correct them. (RAPHAEL M. HUBER)

ROTH, CECIL. *The House of Nasi: the Duke of Naxos.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1948. Pp. xiii-xvi; 3-250. $3.00.)

Beard's dictum that every generation rewrites its history, or what it calls history, is again evidenced in this work about "one of the most influential Jews of sixteenth-century Europe." It is, indeed, a tract of the times which are beset by "antisemitism, displaced persons, immigration restrictions, refugees, Cyprus . . ." It is not, on the other hand, a history—at least not if this term is to connote, as it must, scholarly objectivity.

The subject of the biography, a sequel to the author's *The House of Nasi: Doña Gracia* (1948), is João Miguez, the nephew of the more famous Doña Gracia. His greatest significance springs from the position which he came to occupy in Venetian, French, and particularly Ottoman diplomacy in the two decades prior to his death in 1579. Dr. Roth, however, would give greater

stress to Nasi's contributions to the attempted establishment of a Jewish haven in the archipelago, the Duchy of Naxos, granted him by Selim II in 1566. That Joseph Nasi was deeply or persistently concerned with the plight of his co-religionists is more than doubtful, a doubt rather substantiated than removed by this work.

The author's attempt to surround Nasi with an aurora of altruism and zeal for his less fortunate brethren and to provide in that manner a theme of current interest has, unfortunately, resulted in a style occasionally exaggerated and frequently uncritical. One sentence may suffice to illustrate the shortcomings in both of these regards: "Venomous references to his [Nasi's] activities and his career appear in theological and historical works written in several lands and tongues at this time" (pp. 182-183). For the reader desiring to note for himself examples no references are cited. Similarly, quotations and questionable interpretations appear without their sources or substantiations being indicated (e.g., pp. 37, 134, 177-178, V, n. 20).

The House of Nasi: the Duke of Naxos recommends itself not to the serious student of Ottoman diplomacy in the sixteenth century, but to the casual, uncritical reader. To the latter, its light style, romantic setting, and pleasant format are inviting. (D. F. SHEA).

SAMUELS, ERNEST. *The Young Henry Adams.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xvi, 378. $4.50.)

Any one who has labored in the building of a biography is usually quite willing to admit that something less than complete success has attended his efforts at reconstruction. When one turns to the "re-telling of the education of Henry Adams," as has Professor Samuels, his task is made more difficult by the fact that the chief source, the Henry Adams autobiography so well known to so many, is not of much help, since, in the words of Samuels, it was written with "ironic hindsight" and is marked by an unsatisfying "note of self-mockery" which has resulted in a "strangely blighting shadow" rather than a discerning self-portrait of the fourth of the Adams family. Nor is the task lightened by the opinion of Brooks Adams that his brother was "never quite frank with himself or with others." Taking these and other similar factors into consideration, it is this reviewer's opinion that Samuels has written a reasonably satisfactory and scholarly study of the young Adams. The years covered are "from the Harvard of 1854 to the Washington of 1877," and much useful information is to be found in this treatment which will alternately irritate or impress students according as they think that the entire Adams story has been overdone or underdone in American history.

A poignant tragedy was attached to the fact that Adams, at seventy-seven, was sadly and longingly looking for "a man in history to admire. I am in near peril of turning Christian, and rolling in the mud in an agony of human mortification. All these other fellows did it,—why not I?" It was sad that the author of the tender prayer to the Virgin of Chartres should have found it impossible or inconvenient to make his intellectual genuflection before the Son. For, as Samuels remarks, Adams, though a non-conformist, did not replace

religion in his life "by a philosophy of naturalism or scientific materialism . . . in his final bewilderment and contempt of the world and the intellect, he approached the otherworldliness of the church" (p. 18).

The present study is well and attractively printed and has a satisfactory bibliography and critical apparatus. (JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN)

SARGENT, DANIEL. *The Assignments of Antonio Claret.* (New York: Declan X. McMullen Co., Inc. 1948. Pp. 185. $2.50.)

A brief review of this book can do no more than suggest the impression made on the reader. The book grows on one. Slow-moving as it begins the tale of the weaver's son, it gains momentum as it flows through the turbulent years of the nineteenth century. With an austerity of style, the author, simply, yet skillfully, follows the saintly Spanish priest from the humble parish of Sallent in Catalonia to the Vatican Council at Rome, and from there to his last great assignment at the Trappist monastery of Fontfroide.

Antonio Claret, guided by "siempre," which he had translated in childhood in terms of eternity, was thirsty for souls. The very intensity of this passion turned him from the security of the Carthusian monastery and drove him, relentlessly, over the Pyrenees and across the seas. It made of him missionary, archbishop, royal confessor, and founder of religious communities. But never did this dominating influence of his life crush the warmth and geniality of the parish priest. He moved serenely among the pseudo-literates of his day, content, despite the broad sweep of his intelligence, to be an instrument of his Lady, "an arrow poised in your powerful hand."

Overshadowing and coloring all events in the life of this gentle, yet stimulating Spanish padre, is the political background of Napoleonic and Carlist Spain. But Mr. Sargent's practiced pen never allows his character to play a minor role in this brilliant military pageant. He depicts Claret as the outward and visible symbol of a Spain whose real strength lay in her sober and realistic citizens. In a direct and vigorous manner he proves that the apostolic administrator at Madrid was right when he said to "little" Claret: "It is not stature that counts, but what's in here," as he tapped his forehead. (SISTER NATALIE KENNEDY)

SAYLES, G. O. *The Medieval Foundations of England.* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1948. Pp. xi, 480. 18 s.)

In this volume Professor Sayles gives us something more advanced than the usual survey textbook; it is a synthesis of English history up to the fourteenth century, which is concerned with interpretation rather than the accumulation of facts, some knowledge of which is presupposed. This interpretation reflects the changes which have come about as a result of the study of recent decades, and is in some respects a reaction against "Whig history." The title is significant, for the aim of the book is to trace those early developments, and only those, by which an organized English nation came into existence. Mr. Sayles

is himself a distinguished scholar in the field of legal and constitutional history, and it is this aspect which is made the framework in his presentation of history. A thread of political and military narrative is given to furnish explanation and continuity, and in addition religious, social, and even intellectual history receive considerable attention. The result is a narrative which is lively and more broadly human than might at first sight be expected.

The author gives vigorous expression to his own judgments, and specialists in various fields will sometimes differ from him. It may also be said that he has his prejudices, as in his frank dislike of Edward the Confessor and Henry III. Therefore, readers of this REVIEW will wish to know how religious matters fare at his hands. Clearly he tries to be just, and usually he succeeds, and sometimes he is remarkably sympathetic, as in his tactful characterization of St. Wilfrid. However, some statements are careless (he has a way of making summary statements without nuances), such as the wording which suggests that Gregory the Great resigned his secular office in order to become Pope (p. 43), when in fact there was a space of some fifteen years between the two events. The ideas of Gregory VII are over-simplified (p. 252), and the papal provisions of the thirteenth century scarcely receive the benefit due from recent studies (p. 416). Both cases leave an unnecessarily bad taste in the mouth. There are even erroneous statements, as that which says (p. 264) that the False Decretals were compiled "for the express purpose of exalting the pope's position." In a larger way, various Protestant principles are taken for granted, e.g., nationalism in religion, disapproval of monastic asceticism, and a few statements on page 364.

The reading lists appended to each chapter are uneven; some are helpful guides to recent material, some are inadequate even to the extreme case of that on page 378 which pretends to cover the Cistercians, friars, and the literary, philosophical, theological, and legal movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Unfortunately, many misprints escaped the proof-reading. But in spite of its imperfections it is a stimulating book, well worth the attention of those who already have some knowledge of this period of history, and who can make the needed corrections for themselves. (CARLETON M. SAGE)

SHOEMAKER, FLOYD C. *The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1898-1948.* (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri. 1948. Pp. 193. $3.50.)

Quite properly Missouriana is the one subject treated in Secretary Shoemaker's chronicle of fifty years of the State Historical Society of Missouri. About the sole excursion by the author outside the state's geographic boundaries is his recording the first meeting of the association in May, 1898, at Eureka Springs, Arkansas. Within the attractive format of the small volume is faithfully entered even the most minute of the organization's activities. With the full authority of nearly forty years personal participation does Mr. Shoemaker record the story of Missouri historiography. Perhaps his intimate knowledge leads to a too studious inclusion of every name and date, causing the account to move at a retarded pace in its initial pages.

Already the society will be familiar to many through its quarterly publication, of which the Jesuit historian, Father Gilbert J. Garraghan wrote: "Among the magazines put out by the state historical societies *The Missouri Historical Review* is my favorite." For a dozen years its circulation has been the largest in the United States. Fathered by the Missouri Press Association, the society has justified its parentage through its valuable collection of current and past issues of Missouri newspapers. The microfilming, which has supplanted prior methods of preservation, has been vastly accelerated to forestall the rapid disintegration of the woodpulp stock now employed. Availability of this material for research has been fostered by a subject index, patterned after that of the New York *Times*. At the opposite pole from the ephemeral newspaper is the society's art collection. This ranges from the canvases of Missouri's own Thomas Hart Benton to the original cartoons of Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

The author ascribes the Missouri organization's success in the face of restricted finances to careful, long-range planning. One statement epitomizes popular approval of its achievements: "The Society leads the nation in the number of active members, a position it has held continuously since 1937." (PETER J. RAHILL)

SMITH, ROBERT C. AND ELIZABETH WILDER. *A Guide to the Art of Latin America*. [Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, Latin American Series, No. 21.] (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. v, 480. $1.50.)

The artistic patrimony of Latin America, the richest in the new world, has aroused the interest of American art historians for a number of years, and this guide, which is another evidence of the artistic wealth of Latin America, will, we think, arouse it even more. The tradition of art in Latin America is very old, going back in some countries to pre-Columbian times. In all of the Latin American countries the colonial period produced an extraordinary abundance of works of art. If we add to this heritage the contributions of the nineteenth century and those of our own times, which include the creations of such men as Rivera, Orozco, and Portinari, we can readily appreciate the importance of a guide to the art of Latin America.

Dr. Smith and Miss Wilder have happily combined their talents to produce a book that will long remain as the indispensable tool for the historian of Latin American art. Nothing like it has been done before, and it is not likely that it will be easily superseded. The bibliography covers not only books and articles on painting, sculpture, and architecture, but also on the minor arts of the silversmith, lacemaker, etc. The location of the 5,000 or so items in the guide is indicated. All of them are in this country, most of them are in the Library of Congress. There are critical and explanatory remarks under nearly every entry. There is an index of names, an essay on "The Literature on Latin American Art" divided by countries, and a foreword by Dr. Luther H. Evans. *A Guide to the Art of Latin America* is a splendid addition to the Library of Congress' Latin American Series. (MANOEL S. CARDOZO)

TATE, MERZE. *The United States and Armaments.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. xii, 312. $6.00.)

This short volume is more than just an account of the role the United States has played in disarmament programs; it contains an interesting and provocative critique of the armament problem with which the author obviously has a detailed familiarity, although the reader may very well disagree with some of her conclusions.

The work begins with a general discussion of the difficulties involved in attempting to effect any limitation of armaments. It then traces America's efforts in this regard in agreements concerning the Great Lakes and in the Hague Conferences. Part Two deals with American participation in the Geneva Conference, while the third section treats of the failure of real naval disarmament in the Washington and London treaties. The fourth part is particularly interesting in that Dr. Tate analyzes the suggested programs for the disarmament of Germany and Japan and then discusses the possibility of control of atomic energy by international agreement.

In view of recent developments in relations between the western democracies and the Soviet Union, the author's observations in this last section are both timely and controversial. The United States and Great Britain are accused of a steady retreat from the plans laid down at Yalta and Potsdam to prevent a revival of German aggression. In reference to atomic control Dr. Tate holds that the abolition of the veto, which the United States has insisted upon, is unnecessary since nations found violating atomic regulations would by that time be prepared for war. "With good faith," she maintains, "either the American or the Russian plan for the control of atomic energy or a synthesis of the two could be made to work." The author is likewise critical of the big four's policy of dealing directly in drafting treaties or in other international negotiations rather than using the agencies of the United Nations. She concludes that the "problem of the twentieth century is not disarmament to assure peace but co-armament to maintain peace."

The book is definitely a worthwhile contribution to a better understanding of American foreign policy and efforts for world peace. Parts of it, however, seem unnecessarily detailed, such as the chapters dealing with naval disarmament; and the thirty-page conclusion, which is purely a review of the preceding chapters, is far too lengthy in consideration of the size of the volume. The index and bibliography are excellent. (ROBERT J. CORNELL)

THOMAS, SISTER M. EVANGELINE. *Footprints on the Frontier; A History of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Concordia, Kansas.* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 400. $5.00.)

The Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia have been one of the religious forces of Kansas since 1883 when the first group of six sisters came to Newton, led by Mother Stanislaus Leary, who had been superior of the congregation at Rochester, New York, for several years. The motherhouse was established at Concordia a year later when they accepted a mission there. Growth during

the hard times of the late 1880's and 1890's was slow compared to the rapid expansion of the community and its work in the twentieth century. Today the sisters of the congregation teach in their own Marymount College and in numerous parochial schools, besides staffing orphanages, a home for the aged, and several hospitals.

About one-fourth of the book is devoted to tracing the line of descent from the original French foundation in the seventeenth century. In the story of the Concordia congregation emphasis is placed on its external works. The record is impressive, but there is little about the history of the commmunity. One chapter is devoted to the change in the status of the community from a diocesan to a pontifical institute; elsewhere there are but passing references to the organization and administration of the community and to its educational policies, all of which must have developed for this was not a static community. Of the women who directed the growing institution only Mother Antoinette Cuff is sketched in sufficient detail to indicate the influence of her personality on the character of the community. But as Sister Evangeline points out in her preface: "source material is often sporadic and sketchy"—doubly so in regard to the intangibles that give a religious community its own particular quality. Nevertheless, the volume is a definite contribution, for it adds another chapter to the story of the work of religious women in building the Church in the United States. (PETER BECKMAN)

TOULMIN, HARRY. *The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia.* Edited by Marion Tinling and Godfrey Davies. (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. 1948. Pp. xx, 141. $3.75.)

This well-edited and carefully printed journal of the Reverend Harry Toulmin, a Unitarian minister of Lancashire, England, offers a detailed and vivid picture of the social and economic conditions of Virginia and Kentucky in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Attention also is directed to political matters. With meticulous attention to detail and in a simple, forceful style the author fulfilled his promise of submitting to prospective emigrants among his parishioners back home a first-hand account for their information. The value of this account has been recognized by Mrs. Marion Tinling and Mr. Godfrey Davies of the Huntington Library and the reports published for the first time. The publication is amply warranted for the valuable insight it affords into pioneer life in the near-west.

One would expect to find therein a more extensive reference to religious conditions on the frontier. The reports were those of a minister of religion who, in all likelihood, sought escape from the restrictions on freedom of worship in his own country and was serving as a guide to others of his faith who should follow him. Apart from a charge of bigotry among "many of the sects," references bordering on religion and morals are confined to inquiries included in a questionnaire to county clerks as to the number of ministers of religion authorized to marry; the number of persons imprisoned on criminal accusation; the number of billiard tables.

Toulmin's account of the new West is favorable. He maintains throughout that America is the country for "the Sons of Freedom, for poor men, and for the middle class with large families." Yet he is careful to point out its lack of opportunity for some persons. In his solicitude he discourages clockmakers from migrating because "as the sky of Kentucky is tolerably clear, and the greater part of the people live a rural life, there are but few who have any occasion to seek a substitute for the sun, by day, or the cock crow by night." Nor would a music professor have much chance of succeeding, although a dancing master might meet with encouragement.

This volume should prove valuable to the social historian as well as entertaining to the casual reader. (SISTER AGNES GERALDINE MCGANN)

TURNBULL, LAURA SHEARER. *Woodrow Wilson. A Selected Bibliography of His Published Writings, Addresses, and Public Papers.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 173. $2.00.)

This useful book is intended not as a definitive bibliography but as a working tool for scholars and general readers, to be used until a more comprehensive guide to Wilson's writings may be available. It is basically a revision of the earlier bibliography of Howard Seavoy Leach which appeared twenty years ago in Baker and Dodd's edition of *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, but the rather inconvenient arrangement followed by Leach has been discarded and new material added, including documents which appeared recently in the Department of State's publication of the papers of *The Paris Peace Conference.* The titles appear in three chapters: first, "Books by Woodrow Wilson, 1885-1908;" second, "Collected Addresses and Writings;" and third, "Addresses, Writings Published in Periodicals and Pamphlets, Letters and Public Papers, 1877-1924." The volume also contains a selected list of newspaper reports of Wilson's speeches, statements, and public papers, 1910-1912, compiled by Arthur S. Link of Princeton and a list of 100 books in the Woodrow Wilson field by Katherine E. Brand, Curator of the Woodrow Wilson Collection of the Library of Congress. Students of recent American history are deeply indebted to Princeton University—both in its staff and its press—for continuing aids to our knowledge of Wilson, of which this is the most recent example. (JAMES E. NEWMAN)

WALSH, WILLIAM THOMAS. *Saint Peter the Apostle.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. viii, 307. $3.50.)

This is the last work from the prolific pen of the late William Thomas Walsh, written in the pleasant literary style and biographical mold of most of his other books. St. Peter's life up to the first Pentecost occupies about two-thirds of the book; the rest is taken up with the Petrine sections of the *Acts* and, of course, the *Epistles.* The whole is given in thirty-three short chapters which are without titles. With the exception of the first few chapters which are an imaginative reproduction of background, the biography follows the gospel account of our Lord's life. The author interprets Peter in terms of his

reaction to Jesus throughout the years of His public life. Naturally all the pericopes in which Peter figures by name are used; for the rest, the author's preference and the obvious importance of certain scenes seem to have governed the choice.

In his introduction, Mr. Walsh disclaims that his biography is an "authoritative interpretation" and compares his approach to that of painters and sculptors who have imagined how the apostles looked in various scenes. This is a fair statement of the value of the book. Historians will meet with questionable statements (e.g., Peter and Paul met death together) and modern exegetes will be irked at the identification of Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany, and the repentant woman in the house of Simon the Pharisee, and the occasional arbitrary sequence of events. But even the artist will probably concur that Mr. Walsh did not come off so well. While the literary dress is worthy and there is not lacking a neat imaginative insight into certain scenes, the author did not have true control over his material. Too often the text of Scripture is simply quoted at great length and opportunities for a sharper characterization of Peter are missed. On the other hand, those who are unfamiliar with the great apostle will enjoy an interesting and informative book. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

WILBER, DONALD N. *Iran: Past and Present.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 234, $3.00.)

This little volume is divided into two parts: Iran's heritage, an historical survey of the past, and modern Iran, a study of the modern country. The background and actual experience of the author, a member of the Asia Institute, counts heavily in the second section. Mr. Wilber enjoyed several years residence in Iran and is at his best describing conditions in the modern state. More than half of the book is taken up with topography, resources, industries, transportation, system of government, religion, and general way of life. Considerable factual material is worked into the narrative with the emphasis given to the "westernization" of Iran. The first section is necessarily rather sketchy, leaning more to facts than to interpretation; it is a concise account of Iran's history from the Achaemenid period to the rule of Reza Shah (abdicated 1941). There is an appendix on the Iranian flag, calendar, and currency. The text is accompanied by several photographs and map and is provided with an index. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

WILCOX, SISTER CATHERINE JOSEPH. *A Study of Reflections of the Peace Proposals of Pope Pius XII in the Writings of David Lawrence.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 95. $1.00.)

This study investigates the attitude of the journalist, David Lawrence, toward the peace proposals of Pope Pius XII and undertakes to discover whether Mr. Lawrence advanced these proposals in his own writings. The value of the study lies chiefly in its concise statement and analysis of the Pope's Five-Point Peace Plan and in its collection of pertinent excerpts from the writings of Mr. Lawrence.

While it is a cause for gladness that right reason enjoys an occasional triumph at a time when propaganda is in the ascendancy, the fact that an editorial writer of the calibre of Lawrence accepted the plan of the Pontiff and modelled his pronouncement on it seems hardly surprising. The peace program enunciated by Pius XII is a statement of reasonable proposals that elicits the endorsement of all sincere Christians. Lawrence is distinguished probably not so much by his acceptance of these principles as by his acknowledgment that the Holy See is the foremost advocate of them.

The author draws a lawful conclusion in her statement: "In thus supporting and reflecting adequately and accurately the Papal Peace Proposals, Mr. Lawrence has performed an important journalistic service of information and interpretation regarding what could be—if the proposals were widely enough understood and accepted—a major solution of the Number One Problems of international relations today: the framing of a just peace." Yet in her study the author demonstrates that even Mr. Lawrence did not carry his reasoning to its logical conclusion: that the brotherhood of man must be rooted in the fatherhood of God and protected by a divinely appointed authority that directs and enlightens natural reason and human charity. One cannot overlook the fact that there is danger in accepting the endorsement of some of the norms of a Christian civilization as if the endorsement were of Christianity itself. (SISTER MARY CRESCENTIA THORNTON)

WILLEKE, BERNWARD H., O.F.M. *Imperial Government and Catholic Missions in China during the Years 1784-1785.* (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute. 1948. Pp. xiv, 227.)

This work is the first number in the Missiology Series of the publications issued by the Franciscan Institute. It deserves a warm welcome. A detailed and comprehenive study of the persecution in China during 1784-1785 that dealt one of the severest blows to the missions, it treats a subject hitherto only touched upon by other writers.

The persecution was occasioned by the arrest of four Franciscans going to their mission in the interior in Shensi. At that time the Mohammedans not far from the borders of Shensi were in revolt against the imperial government. The emperor, fearful that there was some connection between the journey of the missionaries and the rebellion, pushed inquiries and found out to his great surprise that the Church was spread throughout China and that besides native priests there was a number of foreign priests. A widespread search was then ordered. By means of threats and tortures many priests and lay helpers were rounded up, most of whom were sent to Pekin for trial. During the trial it became clear that there was no connection at all between the prisoners and the Mohammedans. Nevertheless they received severe sentences for having transgressed the anti-Catholic law and as a warning for future transgressors.

There is an introductory chapter giving a brief but able review of the history of the missions in China up till 1784. A concluding chapter evaluates the effect of the persecution both on the missions and on the government. The work is done with all the scientific precision and thoroughness of modern historical

studies. Apart from some unpublished material from the archives of Propaganda in Rome the work is based on printed sources both European and Chinese. Translations of twelve of these latter are given in the appendix. The glossary of the Chinese terms used is helpful.

The following typographical errors may be added to the list of errata on page 227. For *he* read *the* (p. 43); two lines are interchanged (p. 51); for note 76 read note 67 (p. 64); for *is* read *it* (p. 112). *Missionaires Etrangères* (pp. 67, 69) seems strange French. A map would help to a more intelligent and pleasant use of the work. (EDWARD HAGEMANN)

WITTE, RAYMOND PHILIP, S.M. *Twenty-five Years of Crusading, A History of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.* (Des Moines: National Catholic Rural Life Conference. 1948. Pp. xviii, 274.)

The La Crosse convention of 1948 makes it evident that the Catholic Rural Life Conference has come of age. To celebrate its silver anniversary, Brother Raymond Witte, S.M., of St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, has written the story of the first twenty-five years of the conference. After two chapters on the need of a rural Catholic crusade and on the pioneers of the Catholic rural movement, such as Archbishop John Ireland, the Central Verein, and the Catholic Church Extension Society, the author relates the founding of the conference through the enthusiasm and efforts of Father (now, Bishop) Edwin V. O'Hara. In its early years the organization was an annual convention and little else. But the passing of time saw the conference make and then break its quasi-alliance with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, develop a body of principles and objectives, and finally change its promotional techniques to reach the rural people themselves instead of a select group of leaders. During the war years, despite small conventions, the conference made great gains, especially in its organization and influence.

The book has an excellent preface by the apostolic delegate and it concludes with several appendices (lists of founders, officers, conventions and diocesan directors, and a chapter on the philosophy of rural life), a bibliography, and an index. It is not hard to understand that writing this history was a difficult task. Brother Witte had to lean heavily on unpublished manuscripts, files, reports, minutes and such like, which, apparently, were not very bountiful either in number or in information. Despite the twenty-eight interviews, the book seems to tell only the formal, surface story of the organization. Perhaps, this was unavoidable since so many persons concerned are still living. However, the book does present an orderly history of a movement whose glory still lies ahead. (PAUL J. ZYLLA)

WORMUTH, FRANCIS D. *The Origins of Modern Constitutionalism.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1949. Pp. x, 243. $3.00.)

The greater part of this study has to do with the search for a constitutional basis in the period of the English Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660.

The title is, therefore, much too broad, but not without some justification in that the author has established formal connections with ancient and mediaeval times, and he points as well to a juncture with the work of Haines, Corwin, and Wright, for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By such backward and forward glances Mr. Wormuth discovers a tradition, 2,500 years old (p. 215), which stands for "the mixed state and the proposition that law should be general and prospective, this latter having been implemented in the seventeenth century by the doctrine of the separation of legislative and executive power." More important than the mixed state ("incoherent in theory and inadequate in practice") is the constitutionalist view of law as general and prospective, a view which invokes so much support that "no state can afford to ignore it." No specific set of ideals ("one or another local opinion") can be identified with constitutionalism; it is the method which is essential. One is left with the distinct impression that the governor is responsible only for appearances.

Since the argument of the book is tucked away at the end, and since it bears very lightly upon the exposition of seventeenth-century history, the work can be recommended as a solid contribution in the author's field of special competence. It is properly a sequel to his earlier work, *The Royal Prerogative, 1603-1649* (1939). (JOHN T. FARRELL)

WRIGHT, LYLE H. *American Fiction, 1774-1850: a Contribution toward a Bibliography.* rev. ed. (San Marino, California: Huntington Library. 1948. Pp. xviii, 355. $6.00.)

Mr. Wright has enlarged his bibliography of American prose fiction to 2772 entries, about 600 more than appeared in the first edition of 1939. This revised edition follows the plan of the old edition: it enters books according to author (and according to title when the author is unknown), lists the reprints and new editions (roughly thirty-two percent of the total entries), indicates the contents of books carrying more than one story, and locates copies in twenty-one public and private American libraries. The present edition adds two useful features not found in the old: an index of titles, and a chronological index which gives at a glance some indication of the kind of fiction produced and an estimate of the frequency of production from year to year. The amazing growth in popularity of prose fiction in all its varieties has often been commented on by historians of early American literature, but it is nowhere more clearly documented than in the chronological index, for of the 1879 titles there listed all but eighty were published in the period 1815-1850.

Mr. Wright makes no claim to completeness and calls his compilation "a contribution toward a bibliography." He omits annuals, tales of Indian captivity, fiction in periodicals and extra numbers of periodicals, etc. He also omits some books listed in Lillie Loshe's and Oscar Wegelin's bibliographies, probably because they have been discovered to be the work of foreign-born writers or American reprints of English fiction. But no explanation is given, and in some instances it is needed; one wonders why he omits, e.g., *The Emigrants* by the American-born Gilbert Imlay and the *Adventures of Alonso* "by a Native of Maryland," a novel attributed to Thomas Atwood Digges by R. H. Elias ["The

First American Novel," *American Literature*, XII, (1941)]. Despite limitations, which Mr. Wright acknowledges in his introductory remarks, this bibliography is obviously a valuable tool for the student of American literature. It is also of value to the social historian; for Wright includes "tract-like tales" written, he says, to promote "various social reform movements organized in the first half of the nineteenth century." (G. GIOVANNINI)

ZACHARIAS, H. C. E. *Proto-History. An Explicative Account of the Development of Human Thought from Palaeolithic Times to the Persian Monarchy.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1947. Pp. vii, 391. $4.00.)

Dr. Zacharias has called his book, 'proto-history' instead of 'pre-history' to indicate that it deals with a science concerned with the earliest story of man based on unwritten records, rather than with a period prior to any historical knowledge. His first chapter co-ordinates the various auxiliary sciences of proto-history, treating such different fields as linguistics and palaeontology and such basic disciplines as anthropology and ethnology. The author treats the question of evolution with great clarity and clears away the outmoded dogmas of those evolutionists who still wear 'zoological blinders" in their study of man. For him the only scientific norm to determine whether skeletal remains belong to men or to animals, is to investigate circumstantial evidence for man's reason, such as fire or tools. When such evidence is lacking the remains cannot be offered as proof of man, "however hominoid their skeletals."

The author follows the historical method of Wilhelm Schmidt in distinguishing four primary types of civilization: the primitive, the venatorial, the agricultural, and the pastoral. The major portion of the book is concerned with the spread and interaction, from Palaeolithic times to the Persian monarchy, of these primary types of civilization. Some interesting interpretations are presented with regard to Israel, such as the relation of Egyptian poetry to the literary form of Proverbs, the spiritual influence of Israel on later Zoroastrian religion, and the comparison of the Sumerian background of Abraham to the *praeparatio evangelica* of the Greco-Roman world of apostolic times.

The volume has an excellent index, two end maps, and many fine charts and illustrations. A bibliography and a separate list of the charts would have added to the value of the book. Only a few errors of a typographical nature were noted: a misspelling of 'daring' (p. 80), and two meaningless words, 'no' (p. 231) and 'civilization' (p. 347). The work is scientific enough to recommend to specialists and interesting enough to interest the general reader. (JOHN EDMUND O'BRIEN)

ZEEVELD, W. GORDON. *Foundations of Tudor Policy.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 291. $5.00.)

The historian who is attempting an evaluation of a ruler inevitably faces the question: who was the person or who were the people behind the throne who helped to fashion the policy of the ruler? Usually one finds that there are two categories, the major and the minor persons. It is quite obvious that this

book deals with the minor persons. It is the story of Thomas Starkey and Richard Morison. The best one-volume history of Henry VIII is CONSTANT's *The Reformation in England.* It is interesting to note in Constant that Morison's name is to be found only in the footnotes and there are only two references to Starkey in the body of the book. In the *Life of Reginald Pole* by Martin Hailie, Morison is briefly mentioned and Starkey not at all. One of the recognized authorities on the Tudor monarch, viz., A. F. Pollard, does not have a single line on either person. The same total lack of recognition is to be found in the works of Innes and Fisher. If the author's purpose was to catapult these two men from obscurity, he has done a good job. However, in doing this does he not claim too much for them? Surely, if they were men of significance, they would have been featured as such by the authorities on the subject.

Henry VIII was a generous patron of scholarship but at a price. Scholars had to conform or be sent to the block or harried out of the land. A good illustration of this is Cardinal Pole. Morison and Starkey were on the king's payroll and they intended to stay on it. They had ability but used it to say the things which the king would have them say and to do the things which Henry wanted done. They belonged to the Machiavellian and Cromwellian group—not to the category of Pole and More. They would have remained in obscurity if Pole and More had remained alive; their death and exile was Morison and Starkey's opportunity.

The author has made a significant contribution to history in writing this book. However, the proper evaluation of the individuals concerned will have to be studied in the larger framework of their contemporaries. The volume is more a literary evaluation of the period than a social, economic, or political diagnosis. It will be read with profit by students majoring in either history or English.

(EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

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Dialectic in History. Helmut Kuhn (*ibid.*).

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Mr. T. S. Eliot on the Meaning of Culture. Christopher Dawson (*Month,* Mar.).

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Relativism and the Use of Hypothesis in History. Willson H. Coates (*ibid.*).

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Die sprachliche Übereinstimmung zwischen Markus-Paulus and Markus-Petrus. I. J. van Dodewaard (*ibid.*).

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